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OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Editor

Associate Editors

ARTHUR WARNER

DOROTHY VAN DOREN PAUL BLANSHARD

Dramatic Editor JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Literary Editor FREDA KIRCHWEY

Contributing Editors

JOHN A. HOBSON HEYWOOD BROUN H. L. MENCKEN

NORMAN THOMAS LEWIS S. GANNETT CARL VAN DOREN

MARK VAN DOREN LUDWIG LEWISOHN

DAVID BOEHM, Advertising Manager

Address all editorial communications to the "Managing Editor."

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TWO ADMIRABLE ACTS by President Hoover are recorded to his credit during his first fortnight in office. By an executive order he has withdrawn all government oil lands from further leasing, except where such leasing is made mandatory by Congress. This is a wise and far-sighted policy. It ends the possibility of further oil scandals during Mr. Hoover's Administration. More than that, it is helpful to the oil industry because it is suffering from over-production and the development of new fields that are unnecessary at the present time. It is true that Senator Walsh has protested that in his judgment certain decisions of the Supreme Court make it mandatory that the Secretary of the Interior sign leases. The validity of his contention must be settled by the courts, but if the Secretary is not legally bound to make leases, Mr. Hoover has taken a great step forward. Equally commendable has been the President's order for publicity for tax refunds larger than $20,000. This marks a complete change of policy, for Mr. Coolidge and Secretary Mellon had insisted upon their right to keep secret all such refunds, although they had run into huge sums surpassing in their total all additional payments obtained by the government from taxpayers. It has been charged by Senator McKellar that Mr. Mellon has granted large refunds to two of his own corporations—a grossly improper procedure. While the initiative now comes from the Secretary, there is no doubt that the change of policy is Mr. Hoover's.

THE NEW "FIVE-AND-TEN" Jones law, which prescribes five years in jail or a $10,000 fine, or both, for violations of the Volstead Act has brought forth an extraordinary response in New York City. A group of eminent lawyers, including several former Assistant United States Attorneys, who feel that the new law may impose undue hardships on many citizens guilty of minor offenses against the Volstead Act, have formed a committee to assist persons in trouble. These lawyers hope to "educate" juries to bring in verdicts of acquittal in deserving cases. "It was felt," says Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., chairman, "that such a committee of lawyers might be helpful in aiding our juries to perform their invaluable functions of preserving civil liberties." The committee believes that

> while the sale of intoxicants may be illegal, it cannot be made wrong by any statute, as it is neither condemned by moral sentiment nor inherently dangerous to others. To endeavor to penalize such an act by the infliction of penalties hereto only applicable to the serious moral infractions brings the whole criminal law into contempt and handicaps its administration. . . . We propose to fight this measure with the same vigor as the New York bar displayed in the case of the enforcement act known as the Fugitive Slave law.

The committee will give legal aid to "worthy" persons who may be caught in the toils of the Jones law on "hip flask" charges or for other minor offenses. Help will not be extended to proprietors of disreputable speakeasies. It will be interesting to watch the career of this committee. Perhaps we shall some time see a New York lawyer elected to the Presidency by the rousing slogan: "He kept us out of jail!"

A NEW POLICY for the American Indian is said to be in the mind of Ray Lyman Wilbur, the new Secretary of the Interior. Let us hope so. What changes Mr. Wilbur has in mind are not specified, but success in carrying them out will depend chiefly on whom President Hoover appoints as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Charles H. Burke's resignation from that post has just been accepted, and that, at least, is a good beginning. Mr. Burke's unfitness was all too amply demonstrated in his handling of the property of the aged and incompetent Indian, Jackson Barnett, upon which we commented editorially in our issue of February 20. Pierce Butler, Jr., of St. Paul, who as special assistant to the Attorney-General was lately asked to examine that case, has recommended that no indictments be sought. This is contrary to the view of the special assistant of the Department of Justice who investigated the case last year. He declared that both Mr. Burke and ex-Secretary Fall

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should be indicted, and the evidence against them and others was about to be placed before a grand jury when the inquiry was called off by Attorney-General Sargent, acting upon the request of Secretary Work. Mr. Butler's recommendation seems a little illogical also in the face of his statement: "The Secretary of the Interior had no power to make gifts of Barnett's restricted funds. The gifts may be recovered back by the United States. The pending suits to that end should be prosecuted." Anyhow we are glad to see it announced that the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate will continue its investigation of the Barnett case.

WHAT IT COSTS THE PEOPLE of the United States to have a government at Washington which is the servant of private business has been demonstrated recently by the fight before the Federal Radio Commission for short wave-lengths in the air. If these wave-lengths belong to anyone they belong to the people of the United States, and the people should get every penny of profit from their exploitation. But the Federal Radio Commission has been dickering with several great newspapers and press syndicates for the surrender of these wave-lengths to private corporations. Involved in the controversy are twenty transcontinental and twenty transoceanic short wave-lengths which can be used for transmitting news instantly across the country or across the oceans. The day may come when they will be more valuable than telegraph lines. To dispose of them the Commission suggested that the newspaper syndicates which desired to use them form a utility corporation of their own which should distribute the right of use impartially to all newspapers applying. The Associated Press dissented because it does not join any profit-making corporations, and finally various news syndicates agreed upon a plan for parceling out the wave-lengths among themselves if they were not required to form new corporations. We are glad to note that the Federal Radio Commission has thus far resisted this crude attempt to give directly to the great syndicates the natural resources which should remain public property. The obvious solution of the problem is a public corporation which would keep the priceless channels of the air forever in the government's hands.

MUSCLE SHOALS, Boulder Dam, and the St. Lawrence are the three great water-power sites in this country which have been the storm centers of the fight for public ownership. The power interests have kept Muscle Shoals underdeveloped, defeated the best provisions for the public use of Boulder Dam, and blocked ex-Governor Alfred E. Smith's St. Lawrence project. Now they have doomed the power program of Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York, which calls for the public development of the St. Lawrence under the direction of a State commission of five eminent citizens. Governor Roosevelt's plan is destined to defeat, but the Governor has brought honor to himself and his administration by promulgating it. Under his plan the dams and plants on the St. Lawrence would be built, financed, and operated by a State commission of five trustees, serving without pay, who would have power to contract with private companies for the distribution of the current. These private distribution companies would be compelled to report their rates to the State trustees, who would have the power to limit rates to an 8 per cent return on the actual cash investment. Perhaps 8 per cent is more than a legitimate return on an investment which has almost no element of risk in it, but the control of rates by an independent public body would protect the consumers against the payment of perpetual interest upon watered valuation. While the problem of power will not be solved until the State owns transmission lines as well as power houses, Governor Roosevelt's plan goes as far in that direction as progressives had dared to hope.

SOME TIME AGO the farmers of Washington discovered that private power-interests were charging them much higher rates than those charged by the publicly owned plant of the city of Tacoma. "Why can't we have our own electric plants just as Tacoma has?" they asked. They found that the two great obstacles were the law and the power interests. The law sets such a low debt limit for the State that a State power industry is impractical, and every move toward public ownership has been fought by the power interests with tons of propaganda. But the State Grange decided to challenge the power corporations. It collected more than 50,000 signatures to initiate a bill to permit the people of Washington to create power districts in which the residents may have their own plants. The bill encountered strong opposition from the power lobby at Olympia and was defeated by a narrow margin in the legislature but, under Washington law, it will be referred back to the vote of the people next year. The Grange is powerful in Washington, many local newspapers such as the Bellingham *American* are giving hearty support, and the prospects for the success of the measure seem good. Meanwhile many farmers have run their wires up to the city limits of Tacoma and demonstrated that, even with this extra expense, it is cheaper to buy current from the city's public plant than from private corporations.

DISINTEGRATION THREATENS the Nationalist Government of China at its first general congress since the revolution, because of the opposition of local military leaders and because of the equally potent attack of left-wing Nationalists. In a sense Chiang Kai-shek is responsible for many of the ills which now beset him. When he split the Nationalist movement in 1927 and founded the Government at Nanking in opposition to the more progressive regime at Hankow, he deliberately defied the majority of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party), and now this defeated group is rising to plague him. Madame Sun Yat-sen and other leaders of the left wing of the party have returned to China, and the party members are clamoring for the restoration of the man who was civilian leader until Chiang Kai-shek forced his withdrawal, Wang Ching-wei. Chiang Kai-shek strengthened the Nanking Government temporarily by compromising with local military leaders, but when he tried to centralize authority these same military leaders began to waver in their allegiance. Feng Yu-hsiang, who is, next to Chiang himself, the most powerful figure in China today, has resigned as Minister of War in the Nationalist Government because of "ill health." Ill health is the standard synonym for opposition in Chinese politics. Meanwhile, there is hope that many grave problems may be settled in the Kuomintang congress by intelligent compromise and that in the historic ceremonies attending the reburial of Sun Yat-sen in Nan-

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king all factions will be brought back to that spirit of unselfish devotion which made the original Nationalist movement great.

MAHATMA GANDHI has been arrested—and released on bond, pending trial—for his part in a demonstration in Calcutta at which a public bonfire was made of foreign cloth. Boycott of foreign, especially British, cloth is part of the program in the anti-British campaign which received new impetus at the first of the year through resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress, as described in our issue of January 30. Gandhi's arrest was based on violation of a police ordinance prohibiting bonfires in public places. The boycott and the bonfires will continue, but Gandhi has promised that the latter shall from now on be private. Meanwhile, the Ruling Princes of the Indian States, assembled in the Chamber of Princes at Delhi, have passed a resolution deprecating the drift of Nationalist leaders toward complete independence and opposing "any proposal for adjustment of equitable relations between the Indian States and British India unless such proposals proceed upon the initial basis of British connections." The Princes are British tools who retain what power they have through British support. Though that power is not great, they know that an independent India would never tolerate for a moment their autocratic and reactionary sway over millions of subjects.

THE SPANISH UNIVERSITIES have risen and are being punished by the Dictator. For a week past there have been student riots. The jails are filled to overflowing and some of the 1,500 who have been arrested are confined in barracks and rented houses. One hundred of these youths are declared to be from the best families in Spain. Dozens of them have been gravely injured in the conflicts with the police. In protest "several directors and many professors of the country's ten universities are resigning" and the end of the conflict is not in sight. Out of revenge the Dictator has compelled that pitiful puppet who plays at being king to sign a decree closing the historic University of Madrid for a year. The Cabinet explains that the Government has been busy with other matters, but that henceforth it will "apply stricter methods for suppressing the disorders." Not only are students to be punished, but penalties will be applied to professors and deans who fail to maintain order in their institutions. Meanwhile it is established that the leader of the recent revolt, Sanchez Guerra, now a prisoner on a gunboat in Valencia harbor, had in his possession a letter from the late Queen Mother which read as follows: "Come immediately to save us and the country. My son and myself are gagged and bound. For God's sake, save us." "The Government," says the Hendaye correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian,* "is clearly staggering." Let us hope it will speedily receive its coup de grace.

THAT ALCOHOL is a usable and valuable anesthetic seems to have been proved by a young Mexican surgeon, Dr. Miguel Garcia, recently graduated from the National University of Mexico with honors for the discovery which was the subject of his doctorate dissertation. Young Dr. Garcia read in the textbooks that "the weak point of surgery lies in anesthesia," especially true in high altitudes, where the strain on the heart brings fatal results in many operations not dangerous in themselves. The use of alcohol injections had not been supposed to be feasible, as alcohol put directly in the veins coagulates the blood and causes death. Dr. Garcia suggested that the trouble lay in the method, and in experiments on animals succeeded in giving alcoholic injections between the veins which produced anesthesia for as long as thirty minutes without harmful results. So that this method could be tried on human beings, the Mexican President decreed that any criminal sentenced to death would be pardoned if he submitted to Dr. Garcia's experiment; but it was first tried on advanced cancer cases in the national hospital, and proved so successful and convenient that it is now currently practiced by well-known Mexican surgeons and is approved by the National School of Medicine. Drug manufacturers offered to purchase Dr. Garcia's secret, but he refused to commercialize it. Instead he has placed the discovery at the disposal of any surgeon by publishing the formula and method.

MOUND BAYOU, the Negro town in Mississippi where no white man has ever lived, is about to tear down the city jail for the very good reason that it has been empty for two years. There has not been a murder in the town for more than four years. "We have a peace-loving and law-abiding community," says the Negro mayor. "Our people go to church instead of to jails." Mound Bayou, which was founded nearly fifty years ago by Isaiah T. Montgomery, a Negro, has a population of about 800. In the hotel is one room reserved for white people who happen to visit the town. The record of Mound Bayou should serve as a rebuke to those benighted souls who still persist in believing that Negroes are incapable of good citizenship. And it is refreshing to remember what is easily forgotten in these days of gang murders and violence of every sort, that there are many communities in the United States where murders are as rare as they are in this Mississippi town.

A NATION OF LETTUCE EATERS! To this have the descendants of the frontier fallen; from bear meat to lettuce; from venison dried in the sun to a plant little higher in the scale of eternal values than the grass of the fields. These reflections are caused by the despairing cries from the packers, who claim that salads have nearly driven roast beef off the American dinner table, and who estimate that the annual consumption of meat is 45 per cent less than it was ten years ago, while that of salad has increased 110 per cent. Advices from housewives indicate that the packers are at least partly to blame, for it cannot be denied that the price of beef at present is enough to make any shopper hesitate before she brings home the joint. And the passion of the American woman—in common with the French, English, German, etc., woman—for a slender figure undoubtedly is also a contributing factor. Thus at the same time that the consumption of lettuce has increased, that of pastry, white bread, and potatoes is said to have fallen off 25, 20, and 15 per cent, respectively. Nevertheless, examination of the changes in our national diet shows an advance in the direction of sensible eating. We eat more fruit and fresh vegetables, more whole-wheat bread, more cereals, more poultry and eggs, we drink more milk.

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The Super-League of Nations

GENERAL MOTORS has bought the Opel factory and will manufacture Chevrolet cars to fight Ford in Germany; British financial writers are alarmed because the stockholders of the British General Electric Company have taken steps to forestall the American majority ownership of that company; the recent $100,000,000 Rumanian loan was divided into twelve blocks and apportioned to investors in the United States, England, France, Austria, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, Czecho-Slovakia, and Rumania itself; and now the reparations experts assembled at Paris are working out their plans for an International Bank of Settlement, which will begin with a modest capital of $100,000,000.

These are all powerful signs of the times—signs of the trend toward a financial super-state incomparably more powerful than the League of Nations, but less tightly organized. It is a curious and significant fact that the Covenant of the Geneva League, while it refers to questions of labor, colonies, communications, white-slave traffic, opium, arms trade, and health, never once refers to international finance. We still lived, in 1919, in a political world; and when we talked "economics" we meant "industry." But just as in every individual country finance has come more and more to dominate industry, so in the international sphere. It shows itself in every field of national and international policy. In our American relations with Mexico, for instance, it would be plausible to explain the change in American policy in terms of a shift of emphasis from the commercial and industrial to the financial. We had ambassadors in Mexico who concerned themselves primarily with the business of individual companies; we have today an ambassador who sees Mexico as a whole, whose interest is rather to develop Mexico as a field for future investment than to conserve the rights and privileges of individual oil companies and mine-owners.

The world bank adumbrated in Paris is no sudden inspiration. It owes its origin, apparently, to two great international currents. There have been difficulties in the administration of the Reparation Commission. This bank should facilitate commercialization of the German bonds and assist in the delicate adjustments of international transfers which the Transfer Commission of the reparations body has sought to control. But, obviously, it is to do more than that—there is a reason behind the desire to leave the word "reparations" out of its name. It is to be a sort of federal reserve system for the financial world, a super-bank.

Some will howl in protest against such a plan. And they are right who fear the development of immensely powerful international bodies beyond the reach of parliaments and congresses, without any sort of democratic check upon their operations. The trouble is that the process cannot be stopped; it is already under way. The super-bank would be rather a recognition and regularization of a fact than a new creation. Does anyone still suppose that our Federal Reserve Board, in any important matter which will affect the international flow of money, acts independently of the Bank of England and the Bank of France?

Note the gentlemen who are meeting at Paris. They are not mere politicians; they are mighty bankers. Outstanding among them are M. Moreau, governor of the Bank of France; Dr. Schacht, head of the Reichsbank; Sir Josiah Stamp, the brilliant young director of the Bank of England; Messrs. Morgan and Lamont of our own super-bank, J. P. Morgan and Company; Owen D. Young, head of the General Electric Company; and Thomas N. Perkins, who appears to be a director of most of the important corporations of New England. Representatives of the Federal Reserve system are present too, but it may be a significant commentary upon American economic organization that whereas the other countries sent the official chiefs of their state banks we realistically sent the leaders of our most powerful private financial institutions. These are the most powerful men in the world—more stable in their seats of power than Hoover or Baldwin, Poincaré, or Müller.

This financial league of nations, perhaps, will not emerge full-bodied from the present conference, but the trend is plain. Financially, even more than industrially, the world is one. It is impossible to direct the financial policy of one nation without reference to conditions in the rest of the world—and that simple statement is far more literally true of finance than of industry. In the long run even national commercial policy must bow to international facts; but for a time it may run counter to them. And, while one may gaze appalled at this amazing concentration of power and wonder at the weight of responsibility imposed upon a few men, there is a certain very hopeful aspect of the situation. Bankers are more internationally minded than industrialists. Their interest is definitely peaceful. They prosper most by peaceful development. Before the war national units of capital would have competed for the recent Rumanian loan, and national bitternesses might have been engendered by the result; today the bankers have the sense to divide the issue into national units. They are well aware, to be sure, that such a method insures the united support of all the important foreign offices in the world when and if Rumania again considers the problem of nationalizing her oil fields; but from the point of view of immediate international peace the result is good. So, too, the proposed International Bank of Settlement will inevitably tighten the bonds that link British finance with American, French with German; and these financial facts, incomparably more powerful today than in 1914, may mean more than all the shoutings of all the members of the International Admirals' and Naval Officers' Union.

So here we are, facing a financial super-league more flexible and more powerful than the League of Nations at Geneva, composed of individuals representing financial rather than political powers. Governments will have little control of it; and the people who theoretically name the governments even less. It will be a force for international peace; beyond that one can only dream. Certainly the formation of this bank, even if this suggestion of its meaning go beyond the immediate realization, marks another stage in the conversion of the world into one vast capitalistic world-empire. And that is a symptom worth a deal of pondering.

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The New Spirit Toward Mexico

NOTHING stands out more clearly in the present crisis in Mexico than the changed attitude of the United States. One has only to look back to the days of Villa and Huerta to realize the difference in the general American attitude toward our unhappy Southern neighbor. Formerly there was a tremendous demand for intervention. The United States had exhausted its patience, it was said, and we had as much right to go in and clean up Mexico as we had to clean up Cuba in 1898. There was grave doubt as to what the Wilson Government would do after its two raids into Mexico, and after the Republicans again came into office the general attitude was one of suspicion, hostility, and armed reserve until Dwight W. Morrow went as Ambassador to the City of Mexico. Today there are few demands for intervention. Even the border seems comparatively quiet and less jingoistic than usual. The *Wall Street Journal,* true to its historic policy, declares, of course, that "we have betrayed and ruined our own citizens in Mexico to oblige a Government up to its elbows in innocent blood, and yet we have made enemies on every side." It thinks that when the present revolt began we should have kept our hands off. Instead, it says, we are permitting Mexican federal troops to be transported through Texas, and are supplying arms and airplanes to President Portes Gil while denying them to the insurgents. "The State Department," it concludes, "is putting not only our money but our honor and our prestige before all the peoples of this continent on the wrong horse." As for the Mexican News Digest, it wishes to know where those "pacifists and parlor pinks" are who backed the Nicaraguan rebel Sandino and so vehemently protested against the United States's support of orderly government in Nicaragua now that the same thing is being done on a lesser scale in Mexico. Beyond these criticisms we have seen few press opinions that voice dissatisfaction with the present policy of Mr. Hoover and Mr. Kellogg.

The parallel between Nicaragua and Mexico is not exact. We have sent no troops into Mexico, we have not taken sides and backed one group in that country with our armed forces. We have not blockaded the coasts of Mexico. We have not announced that we shall supervise the next elections in Mexico. Instead, we have steadfastly refused even to discuss the question of intervention, and the aid that we have given to Mexico is criticized as inadequate by those who wish us to make over the country. What counts is that Mr. Hoover has maintained a correct attitude toward the existing Government. It would have been indefensible had our Government publicly leaned toward those in revolt against President Portes Gil, but the point is that Washington has kept cool and kept silent, and that it has given the Mexicans every opportunity to work out their own salvation

We cannot deny our profound disappointment, as incurable friends of the Mexicans, at this new outbreak which is certain to do infinite harm to all in Mexico who are working for domestic peace, stability, and progressive government. If generals everywhere cause trouble and fear of war, in Mexico they are specifically the enemies of the people. They have lived upon the peasants and the business men quite in the manner of the tuchuns in China. While pretending to be loyal soldiers they have plundered and stolen; yes, one "general" in the City of Mexico was actually at the head of a group of automobile robbers who stole right and left. They have wrecked trains for loot in the very districts which they were supposed to patrol for the safety and security of the inhabitants, and now they have again risen in the hope that one of their number may take over the government and permit them to loot even more freely than before. For they have known that their system was being doomed by both Calles and Portes Gil. Obregon and Calles cut down the army budgets and sought to build up a group of younger officers free from corruption and animated by a genuine national idea. Wherever possible they put an end to graft. Unfortunately the time was too short for a full reform; half of the division generals have joined the revolt. Totally indifferent to the welfare of their own country, they have been willing to jeopardize its independence, to put back every reform movement, and to inflict further grievous losses upon the whole country. No sooner is there hope that Mexico's railroads will be restored to earning capacity than a revolution occurs, tracks are torn up, trains stolen, bridges burned, and stations looted. There is every evidence, as we write, that the Government is making rapid headway in crushing the revolt. If it should succeed the losses will still be frightful.

If the Government does succeed, here is surely the opportunity and the reason for a drastic army reform. Mexico needs no army as such. Its only possible enemy is the United States, and it could make no better stand against the Colossus of the North today should it come to hostilities than it was able to make in 1848. It needs a constabulary, a mobile police force to prevent banditry and to maintain order. A few thousand men with complete motor or cavalry equipment could do the work, especially if the units were organized and handled at first by European officers. We are aware that it will be said that such a procedure would be unthinkable in Mexico, although foreign officers have been in the service of Peru, Chile, and other South American nations. But the question in Mexico is whether the military men shall rule and ruin, or whether civilians who desire the freedom and advancement of the Mexican people shall be left free to guide the destinies of the republic. We stress these facts at this time just because the new American spirit toward Mexico, for which we have so largely to thank Mr. Morrow, is so well disposed. That may not be the case a few years hence.

Not only the Government in Washington, but the American people as a whole would be still further enlisted on behalf of progress in Mexico if there should be a determined grappling with the military chieftains. Nothing could more certainly guarantee the continuance of the existing good-will and friendliness in this country, or more certainly put an end to the growlings of the few interventionists and conscienceless capitalists who are glad of the disorder in Mexico in order to demand intervention for their own personal profit.

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From Peruna to Piffle

ONCE upon a time Mrs. Mary D. Jenkins of Smith Street, Sandusky, Ohio, used to get an extra bottle of Peruna by saying that the first bottle had wrought in her a magic transformation. Nobody knew who Mrs. Mary D. Jenkins was and nobody cared. Now Gene Tunney uses a certain laxative and Major Segrave smokes a certain cigarette and Captain Sir George Hubert Wilkins carries a certain oil to the Antarctic, and the advertisers spend millions of dollars to tell us all about it. Also the Tunneys, Segraves, and Wilkinses get something more than a bottle of Peruna as a reward for their public professions.

So much discussion has been aroused by the orgy of testimonial advertising that even the advertisers are becoming aware of a moral issue involved. Where does salesmanship leave off and dishonesty begin? It is pretty hard to tell. It is just possible that Gene Tunney actually uses the laxative in question and, if true, the assertion has some importance for human irrigation. Should there be some kind of public committee to discover whether Gene is masquerading and is actually a secret devotee of something else? Should the New York *Times* refuse to print the advertisement that Major Segrave smoked a particular brand of cigarette after he broke the world's record for an automobile-mile until the affidavits of witnesses arrive?

We ask these questions but we don't know the answer to them. We accept with elevated eyebrows the campaign begun by a business magazine, *Sales Management,* to create an Audit Bureau of Advertising "to combat fakery and misrepresentation" in the advertising world. If advertising and publishing agencies really wanted the truth about the advertising which they prepare, where would they stop in their demand? Would they dare to submit to scientific tests the assertion that a certain brand of cigarettes does not injure the throat? Would they challenge the manufacturers of a nationally advertised antiseptic to prove that their product has any effect upon halitosis? Would they boycott the advertisements of another cigarette because the scientific test made at Reed College disclosed the fact that smokers cannot tell the difference between popular brands when blindfolded?

The business community may eliminate some of the grosser abuses of advertising, but for the important reforms we must look to the community of consumers. The government has taken a step in the direction of debunking testimonial advertising by rebuking General Robert Lee Bullard, retired, for declaring in a cigarette advertisement that "any army man must keep fit" and that the best way to do that was to smoke the brand described. Since Captain Fried of the steamship America allowed his picture to be printed in a cigarette advertisement the general manager of the United States Lines has issued an order barring such action in the future. But if Captain Fried and General Bullard deserve rebuke, what shall we say of W. T. Tilden and Vincent Richards, of Martinelli and Schumann-Heink?

Probably the present wave of testimonial advertising will go on until it makes itself too ridiculous to be profitable. Already advertisers are losing their sense of proportion in capitalizing famous names. A London department store reached the acme of silliness recently by spending over $15,000 to tell readers of the New York *Times* why Arnold Bennett, H. G. Wells, and Bernard Shaw would *not* write commercial advertising for them. Meanwhile the constructive way to combat the exploitation of the public through its pet heroes and heroines is the creation of consumers' agencies which will analyze advertised articles for the benefit of their members. We have at Washington now plenty of facts to establish the comparative values of automobile tires, engines, toothpastes, soap, cloth, and hundreds of other products which the government buys after careful tests. These tests are now kept secret for "commercial reasons." Why not make them public, Mr. Hoover? One page of government analyses from the Bureau of Standards would cancel a hundred pages of fake testimonials from the public's darlings.

Labor's Predicament

NEVER has the American labor movement been in so discouraging a position as it is today. Labor unions have been losing membership steadily since 1920, great new industries are springing up without collective bargaining, and the major strikes in recent years have ended in disastrous defeat. Nothing is to be gained by concealing these facts or by acting upon the assumption of many progressives that the labor movement is the most dependable factor in social reform. The labor movement in recent years has become weak not only in numbers but in spirit and ideals. The time for stock-taking and renovation has come.

No single villain is responsible for the present situation. Grafters and incompetents there are in the labor world in plenty, but the titanic forces of modern industry manipulate individual villains or saints without much consideration for personal virtue. A stupid or dishonest labor organizer may fail to organize the workers of the United States Steel Corporation, the General Electric Company, or Henry Ford, but his stupidity or villainy is hardly worth considering when it is recognized that Gabriel himself could not organize these corporations in defiance of the overwhelming power of the new capitalism.

Much has been said of the deadening effect of the machine upon the worker, but the reorganization of industry caused by the increased use of machinery has affected the labor movement even more profoundly than the individual worker. A large modern corporation has a score of devices for defeating strikes which the employer of forty years ago did not possess. It has cash reserves and can wait indefinitely for its profits; it may beat a strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts, by sending orders to its plant in La Grange, Georgia; it can hire spies from a detective agency to work within a new union and destroy it by factional strife; it can dominate community opinion through control of newspapers, banks, and business men.

In addition to this great increase of power for frontal attacks upon labor, the prodigious success of business enterprise in America makes it possible for the owners to buy up one by one the best of the manual workers and leave for the labor movement the broken and the second-rate. There is nothing deliberate about this purchase of the opposition, and for those who are purchased the result is usually quite happy, but its effect upon the labor movement is profound. The

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rewards of service to labor are so small and precarious that few care to strive for them. And then the machine is taking away from men their aristocracy of skill. What pride of workmanship and solidarity of craft can exist in the cigar industry, for example, when a new automatic machine presided over by a ten-dollar-a-week girl can produce as many cigars in a few minutes as a hand-worker can roll in a day?

In the face of the steady encroachment of the machine the American Federation of Labor has passed admirable resolutions calling for the organization of the now unorganized workers and for the improvement of living standards, but in practice it has done almost no serious organizing for years. Gradually its local unions have tended to become trade associations of skilled workers defending their own privileged position and paying little attention to the millions of unorganized. The honorable exceptions within the federation only throw into relief the soddenness and inertia of the rest.

No matter how weak it may be as compared to present-day capitalism, the labor movement dares not abandon the fight for collective bargaining without endangering the living wage and the short work-day. Accordingly it is faced with three possibilities. It may continue the present passive policy of the American Federation of Labor, emphasizing friendliness to "good" employers and protecting the skilled workers who are already organized. It may follow the lead of the Communist opposition, or "dual," unions which have been organized in the coal, textile, clothing, and fur industries. It may attempt a progressive reorganization of the American Federation of Labor. The first policy means that the masses of workers in the textile, tobacco, automobile, and food-products industries will continue unorganized. The Communists have done effective propaganda work in exposing labor grievances but they have not demonstrated contructive leadership, and it is quite inconceivable that the conservative American workers will follow them.

The third possibility—the reorganization of the American Federation of Labor—is apparently the best way out of the predicament. It has often been suggested before, but never with such insistence as at present when the memory of the New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor is fresh in the workers' minds. The convention, with its outrageous repudiation of Brookwood Labor College and Matthew Woll's attack upon John Dewey as a dangerous "red," was the final proof of the mental bankruptcy of the A. F. of L. machine. Since then a movement has been quietly taking shape among the ablest and most progressive labor leaders of the country to clean house. A statement published in the *Labor Age* sets forth sixteen points of a progressive trade-union program, the most important of which are a persistent drive to organize the unorganized, a campaign for social insurance, the development of a labor party based upon mass organization of industrial workers, and emphasis upon a new social order as labor's ultimate goal.

We salute the new movement for reforming the American Federation of Labor. Something must be done to compel militancy in labor organization if the present policy of drift and surrender is not to end in extinction. And the success of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers proves that a union can make necessary compromises with the advancing machine and still keep its social perspective.

Fumigated Movies

RIDICULOUS as our motion-picture censors are they have been outdistanced by those of England. While we argue over whether or not to censor the news films, while we restrict the number of film feet allotted to a kiss and ban the word "lousy" from the talkies, our British cousins are really getting things done. For nearly two decades the Board of Film Censors has been at work in England; during that time it has gained courage and strength, partly from age and partly from lack of protest from the film-going public. From the *New Leader* we lift a summary of subjects which are not permitted:

> *Political.* 1. Subjects which are calculated to wound the susceptibilities of foreign peoples, and especially of our fellow-subjects of the British Empire.
>
> 2. Stories and scenes which are calculated, and possibly intended, to foment social unrest and discontent.
>
> *Social.* Incidents which bring into contempt public characters acting in their capacity as such, i. e., officers and men wearing H. M. uniform, ministers of religion, ministers of the crown, ambassadors, etc.

Nor is this all. The board, we read, will cut from any British film items of the following nature:

> The practice of the third degree in the United States.
>
> Reference to controversial or international politics.
>
> Scenes calculated to inflame racial hatred.
>
> Scenes dealing with India and other dependencies by which the religious beliefs and racial susceptibilities of their people may be wounded.
>
> Antagonistic relations of capital and labor, and scenes showing conflict between the protagonists.
>
> Misrepresentation of police methods.
>
> Scenes in which British officers are seen in a discreditable light in their relations with Eastern peoples.

In the hands of a skilful censor, the list given above covers about everything except a rather mild dramatization of "Elsie Dinsmore." If the British public sees any more violent films, it is due either to the censor's dulness or his magnanimity. For certainly he can prevent it.

Among the films considered dangerous was "Potemkin." James Maxton, on behalf of the *New Leader,* sought permission from the Home Secretary, Sir William Joynson-Hicks, to show the film privately before a group of persons especially invited, "M. P.s' of all parties, prominent literary people, and others who would be generally interested in the film." Mr. Maxton went on to explain: "Our purpose is, frankly, to win the support of influential people for the removal of the prohibition on films which have been banned for political reasons; but we want to make it quite clear that the exhibition will be in no sense public."

The Home Secretary's answer was short and to the point. In fact he did not answer at all, but one of his assistants did. "In reply to your letter," wrote the assistant, "asking that permission may be granted to the Film Booking Offices, Ltd., to lend you the film 'Potemkin' for private exhibition, I am directed by the Secretary of State to say that he is unable to comply with your application."

So once more the empire is saved. But with such an example it may not be long before we shall be able to save our own republic by the same means.

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It Seems to Heywood Broun

I SUFFER a great deal from suppressed hate. This does not mark me as a kindly person. On the contrary the honest anger long dammed up reveals itself in devious ways and petty malice. All my life it appears I have gone around tucking away grudges in my unconscious. The lower layers of my mind are full of lava.

By now I wish that I had struck my sister thirty-five years ago when she hit me in the mouth with a freight car. It was, you understand, a toy freight car. In those days my sister was not yet full grown and at that time she could not have lifted a real freight car. And yet the plaything which she used as a weapon sufficed to cleave off half my lip. And on that afternoon I wept a little, but I suppressed my anger. That started the whole train of evil consequences so that now at forty I have insomnia.

She did say she was sorry after the doctor came and stitched me up and I thought that I forgave her freely. Now I know that it wasn't free. It became a charge account and after a while I began to bill not only my sister but the whole world. If I had my life to live over again I should alter the incident. With a second chance I would swat my sister to even up the blow with the freight car and then forgive her freely. By that device mental bookkeeping could have been avoided.

Still, my conduct was not illogical. My brother could lick me, so there was no particular point in doing anything but suppress hate so far as he was concerned. I did try the other system a couple of times without any good results. A violent blow in the stomach seemed to me more fearful than insomnia to be developed thirty-five years later. Indeed I had no notion about the insomnia, for I was a very sheltered child and my parents never told me the facts of Freud. His name was not mentioned in our nursery.

Dreams I did know about. They had dark men in them and blondes who would do you no good and journeys over water. They were, these dreams, all plain enough if you showed nurse your cambric tea leaves or asked her to spread the cards out on the kitchen table. But she did not know that any of these things tied up with my suppressed desires. The journey across water was not identified by nurse as a wish-fulfilment nor did she recognize the blonde woman as palpable evidence of my somewhat erotic feeling for my great aunt.

As I have said there seemed to be no point in flying into rages against my brother who was four years older and took boxing lessons. In the gymnasium he had learned a trick of pretending that he was about to hit me with his left hand. At such times I would instinctively throw both hands in front of my face for protection, which gave my brother an excellent opportunity to wallop me over either ear with his right. Somehow I never did get on to that trick. It may even be that I was just a little dumb.

Even in not getting mad at my brother there was no complete salvation because, though we were on peaceful terms, he had a fondness for putting on what he called a "friendly bout." This was "just for fun" and it hurt almost as much. However, there was less humiliation because this was only a game. To me it was not a particularly pleasant or diverting pastime, but still I felt I ought to be amused and I tried hard. My sister had never taken boxing lessons and she was two years younger. Here should have been a perfect avenue of escape. If I had only known that I possessed an ego things might have worked out very simply. After every boxing bout with my brother I had only to step into the next room and show the winning blow to my sister. If that had been the program I would have grown up to be a competent and healthy member of society and my sister would have had the insomnia.

But—I blush to confess my folly—I never did hit her. There was something in a book I read about gallant knights and lovely princesses. The gallant knights never raised a hand in anger against any princess. Not, of course, that I thought of my sister as a lovely princess. That would have been quite a different complex. But I was a gallant knight and as such I could not hit any woman at all no matter how plain or humble she might be.

Giants and dragons were the only suitable subject for a hero's wrath and we lived in a city house which had none. There was sometimes a dragon on the landing of the stairs just outside the library but it took a good deal of pretending to get him there. In fact I was not altogether anxious to believe in him too sincerely. Against so feeble a wraith it was only necessary to feign anger.

No, I should have hit my sister. That would have meant much more to me. Possibly the trouble was procrastination. That habit seems to have taken early root in me. I thought to myself, "I can hit that little girl any time I want to." Accordingly I kept putting it off and while I delayed she grew up and got married and moved away and now I rather guess it is too late.

Still underneath my sleazy conduct there did run a philosophy, however imperfect. It goes like this: There's no sense in getting mad at anybody you can't lick. There's no sense in getting mad at anybody you can lick. But in this lurks an all too obvious flaw. One may well be too proud to fight against cringing creatures not worthy of his mettle. It would be foolish to allow the Stratons and such to lure you from your path for the sake of petty brawls in which victory brings no honor. Possibly there is soundness in not charging against foes so well intrenched that you can do no more than break your head upon their ramparts. Of this, I'm not so sure. Possibly much of the satisfaction lies in the effort and not the triumph. It may be that in the heart of man there lies a deep abiding longing for defeat. All the happy men whom I know are engaged upon lost causes. If ever prohibition became absolute I should be the first to feel profound pity for Clarence True Wilson.

In fact Alexander, the one we call the Great, has become almost the perfect symbol of frustration. He never knew the joy of going down before the onslaught of the enemy. The flaw in my philosophy goes even deeper. It is well enough to avoid encounters with those who are too weak, and possibly with the impregnable. But how about those of your own weight?

HEYWOOD BROUN

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Government by Millionaires

By LAURENCE TODD

Washington, D. C., March 18

AT last our Government has been made safe for millionaires. Herbert Hoover, first millionaire to reach the White House, has chosen six of that group of fortune's favorites to be members of his Cabinet. The minority of four in his official family whose wealth can still be told in six figures can only emphasize, by their minority, the high financial rating of Henry L. Stimson, Andrew W. Mellon, James W. Good, Charles Francis Adams, Robert Patterson Lamont, and James J. Davis.

Add to these names three others—Charles Gates Dawes, reported to have been offered the London embassy; Ernest L. Jahncke of New Orleans, Assistant-Secretary of the Navy, and Patrick J. Hurley of Tulsa, Assistant-Secretary of War—and all doubt as to the significance of the millionaire majority in the Cabinet is stilled. Herbert Hoover has undertaken to make the American people look upon men of great riches as the natural material for leadership in government.

Prejudice in this field has died hard. There was a time when the selection of the merchant prince, A. T. Stewart, to General Grant's Cabinet created a national scandal. Again, the close association of McKinley with Mark Hanna was resented by millions of honest citizens as a dangerous compromise with Mammon. Succeeding Presidents, down to the election of the easygoing Harding, avoided raising the issue. The Senate, until La Follette invented popular primaries, was looked upon as the political refuge of the lumber, copper, and railroad kings. But the insurgents, progressives, and radicals, dealing with the President and his Cabinet, generally struck over their shoulders at the "invisible" government of the men of swollen fortunes.

Hoover, accustomed throughout his professional years to deal with huge sums and with the owners of big properties, was not led into the Presidency through a long series of political campaigns. He has never had to consider with his political advisers the old American suspicion of plutocrats. He has looked upon his job as a business job—the handling of a tremendous going concern whose real function is the giving of help to private business. And since private business is concentrated, generally speaking, in the hands of rich men who are its directors, Hoover's instinct has been to make invisible government plainly visible.

Start at the top of his Cabinet list. Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State, has made a fortune through the practice of law in New York, the business capital of America. His first law firm was headed by Elihu Root. In politics he was for a time attached to Roosevelt, but he served as Secretary of War under Taft, and when the break came between the Rough Rider and his successor, Stimson stayed loyally with Taft. His selection to the Hoover Cabinet was urged, it appears, by Root, Taft, and Hughes. He is counted upon to persuade Latin America to seek salvation in loans from American banks and in development at the hands of American investors. His book on the Nicaraguan conquest is a protest against critics of dollar diplomacy.

Andrew W. Mellon, one of the four richest men on this continent, remains at the head of the Treasury. During eight years he has so administered that office that $3,500,000,000 in refunds, credits, and abatements of income taxes has gone to wealthy individuals and corporations, without public hearing or explanation. On the eve of the coming in of the new Administration the Senate has voted an inquiry into his eligibility to hold his post—from which a person interested in commerce or trade or in the liquor industry, is barred. His own Aluminum Company of America has escaped the prosecution proposed for it by the Federal Trade Commission, and has received large refunds of taxes. The Pittsburgh Coal Company, in which his directorship was transferred to his brother when he entered the Cabinet, has been conspicuous in the past three years for violation of its contract with the United Mine Workers and for a horrible murder committed in its barracks by its own coal and iron police.

James W. Good, Secretary of War, is a professional politician and corporation lawyer. When he left a House chairmanship to practice law once more, he informed a friend that his first fee was $10,000 from the Alabama Power Company. Business also came to him from Alien Property Custodian Miller. His law firm became counsel for the Insull power interests in Chicago. As Secretary of War he will be in charge of the government's property at Muscle Shoals and will be a member of the Federal Power Commission.

Charles Francis Adams, Secretary of the Navy, inherited with a conservative tradition and a great name a great fortune. He has devoted many years to handling the big endowment funds of Harvard University, and to managing his own holdings in trust companies, banks, gas companies, and other big business concerns.

Robert P. Lamont, Secretary of Commerce, made his own millions amid the feverish competition and the desperate labor wars of Illinois. He became president of the American Steel Foundries in 1912, and in 1921 he received at the hands of Chief Justice Taft the decision of the Supreme Court upholding the most drastic anti-picketing injunction yet found legal in this country. This decision became the precedent for most of the later injunctions limiting or denying the right of picketing and peaceful persuasion of strike-breakers by strikers. Mr. Lamont is a director also in Armour and Company, Montgomery Ward and Company, the Globe Steel Tube Company, and the Griffin Wheel Company. He has taken over the department which Mr. Hoover raised from insignificance to importance, and he shows a determination to make it again the right arm of American business at home and abroad.

For here must be noted a recent slump in the prestige of the Commerce Department which has deeply annoyed Mr. Hoover. His successor, chosen by President Coolidge, was William F. Whiting, millionaire paper manufacturer. But Mr. Whiting, born to his wealth, had no respect for the work of Mr. Hoover. He began at once to propose

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"reorganization in the interest of efficiency," in a manner that promptly destroyed the morale of bureau after bureau. Some of the best men in the department faced the prospect of offhand dismissal. Finally, upon discovering that passive resistance had been adopted by the majority of the responsible personnel, he desisted from further display of his unfitness for the job.

James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor, became a millionaire through promotion of the business features of the Order of Moose and through a bank in Pittsburgh. Were it not for his loyalty to Mr. Mellon, his advocacy of high wages and other points in the trade-union program would mark him as ill-adapted to his financial standing. But he has never created any disturbance when the appropriations for the Department of Labor have been held to the starvation point, nor has he become unduly offended when the Mellon and Rockefeller coal companies have ignored his invitations to come into friendly parley on the possibility of granting justice to the coal miners. Next year he may be the Mellon candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania.

Charles G. Dawes, if he accepts the appointment to London, will go there accredited by his banking, oil, and utility connections, as well as by his culture and his fascist tendencies. To promote the claims of American exporters of loans and oil to a "place in the sun" equal to that of the British will be his delight. And to shake a fist at a Labor Party Premier—if fate should so decree—would for him be very heaven. Clever, dramatic, he knows to the last ounce the brutal weight of money against any claims for betterment of the condition of the under-privileged.

But, ask the Hoover entourage, wearily, what of it? Why should the possession of great wealth be a bar to public service on the part of men whose very ability has marked them out for leadership? Why reject the men whom competition in the material world has proved most fit to survive?

Their impatient inquiry raises the issue as to the purpose for which the government of this nation is maintained. Under the leadership of Herbert Hoover it is to be maintained primarily for the preservation of order and the stimulation of profit-making production. The Hoover ideal seems to be a nation assorted through some vague process of natural selection into powerful financial units, each of which will seek to absorb other powerful units as they all speed faster and faster toward the ultimate maximum of production of wealth. Bigger and more efficient business, organized in vast groups, each a feudal world in itself, with riches overflowing from the tables of its masters to the laps of its meanest retainers. A new feudalism in which no man shall consider himself poor.

A millionaire Cabinet may do violence to American traditions of Jeffersonian simplicity. It may alienate the executive machinery even farther than during recent years from understanding and sympathy with the unemployed, the victims of class persecution, and the despairing apostles of industrial democracy. But it will probably be free of the petty vices of graft, direct corruption, and vulgar stupidity. It will cast a glamor over the progress of the American people toward their new feudal allegiance.

The Papal-Fascist Alliance

By ROBERT DELL

Paris, February 25

I DOUBT whether the full significance of the agreement between the Pope and Mussolini has been generally recognized in America, any more than in England. It is only in Catholic countries that the Catholic church is really understood. In Protestant countries, where Catholics are in a minority, they are necessarily to some extent liberal because they need liberty for themselves and can get it only if others have it too. If religious liberty were denied, it would be denied to them, not to the Protestant majority. In Protestant countries, too, the Catholic ecclesiastical authorities rarely venture to dictate to their flocks in political matters or to attempt to form a Catholic party in politics. There is, it is true, a Catholic Party—the Center—in Germany, but in Germany the Catholic minority is very large and there are whole regions such as Bavaria and the Rhineland in which Catholics are a large majority of the population. In England, where Catholics are to some extent contaminated by the Protestant spirit, no attempt has ever been made to form a Catholic political party and there are Catholics in all three parties. Some Catholics even venture to avow themselves Socialists and there is or was a Catholic Socialist organization in Scotland, whereas in France or Italy a Catholic joining the Socialist Party would promptly be excommunicated. The consequence of all this is that in Protestant countries people get the idea that after all the Catholic church is in the same category as other religious bodies and the fact that a public man is a Catholic is purely his own private concern. It is held to be intolerant, as you recently held it in America, to object to a candidate for high political office on the ground that he is a Catholic. Anti-clericals in European Catholic countries do not agree with you. They say that the Catholic church is above all an international political institution with a political policy of its own and is always potentially at any rate, as the London *Nation* and *Athenaeum* said on February 16, "the most dangerous reactionary force in the modern world." They say that the Syllabus of Pius IX, whether technically "infallible" or not, was an expression of the unchanging teaching of the Catholic church and that it is still true, as Pius IX declared, that the Catholic church cannot be reconciled with modern civilization.

I agree with the anti-clericals and, in my opinion, the agreement between Pius XI and Mussolini is a convincing proof that they are right. Not the first proof by any means even in recent years. I recommend those who think it a matter of indifference whether a public man is or is not a Catholic to investigate the effect on British foreign policy of the fact that the British Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service have been for some years packed with Catholics. Until recently both the Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, Sir William Tyrrell (now British ambassador in Paris), and the Assistant-Under-Secretary, Mr. Gregory,

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were Catholics and they naturally favored their coreligionists. Here is a story for the truth of which I can vouch. The two sons of an old friend of mine were preparing at an English university for the diplomatic service. They were brought up as Catholics, but have ceased to practice their religion and are in fact freethinkers. One of them, as soon as he went up to the university, received the visit of a Catholic priest, whose business it is to keep an eye on the Catholic undergraduates, and did not return the call. The news of his insubordination got round to a well-known Catholic publicist, who thereupon wrote to a relative of the young man in question that he regretted to hear that young X was neglecting his religious duties and it was very unwise on his part, for, as he was going into the diplomatic service, it would be a great advantage to him to be known as a good Catholic! Why should Catholics wish to capture the diplomatic service of a Protestant country? Obviously in the interest of the Catholic church as a political institution.

The agreement between the Pope and Mussolini, which is in effect an alliance between the Papacy and Fascism, shows once more that the Catholic church never changes and that, if from time to time there seems to be a certain liberal tendency at Rome, it never lasts and the Papacy returns inevitably to a reactionary policy. Again and again there have been hopes that the church was going to be reconciled with "modern civilization"—with liberal and democratic ideas—and every time the hopes have turned out to be illusions. One after another liberal movements in the church, from that of Lamennais to the "Christian Democracy" of a quarter of a century ago, have been condemned and destroyed. Under the late Pope, Benedict XV, it really looked as though the policy of the Vatican had changed. He and his Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri, sincerely pursued a policy of democracy and peace. In 1919-1920, when Signor Nitti was Prime Minister of Italy, he opened negotiations with the Vatican for a settlement of the Roman question and Benedict XV and Cardinal Gasparri offered conditions very different from those of the present agreement. They did not ask for the enormous sum of $95,000,000 which Mussolini has now agreed to pay the Pope at the expense of the poverty-stricken Italians, nor did they demand that the canon law of the church should become the law of the land. Their conditions were really liberal and, like the Law of Guaranties, were based on the principle of "a free church in a free state." Unfortunately, Signor Nitti was obliged to resign before the negotiations were completed and his successors did not continue them.

The present Pope, who was Cardinal Ratti before his election, was a protege of Cardinal Gasparri, through whose influence he became Librarian of the Vatican and then a Cardinal. At the Conclave after the death of Benedict XV, Cardinal Gasparri had twenty-eight votes in the first ballot and, as it was clear that he would not secure enough votes for election, he withdrew his candidature and put forward that of Cardinal Ratti, who was finally elected. Pius XI naturally retained Cardinal Gasparri as Secretary of State and, under the latter's direction, the policy of Benedict XV has hitherto been continued. The condemnation in France of the *Action Française* was a symptom of Cardinal Gasparri's policy of discouraging nationalism and incitations to hatred between nations and the Vatican gave its warm support to the policy of Locarno and every measure calculated to promote international reconciliation. It is for that reason that the *Action Française* denounces Cardinal Gasparri as a "pro-German." Cardinal Gasparri has always been opposed to any agreement with the Fascist regime, not only because he objected to Fascism as such, but also because he did not believe that the regime would last and feared that the church might be involved in its downfall.

Once more reaction has triumphed and Cardinal Gasparri's policy has been reversed with his own acquiescence. He has been defeated by the Jesuits, whose influence at the Vatican is all-powerful and who have for some years supported Fascism, naturally enough, for a dictatorship is the form of government most in agreement with their principles. And is not the fundamental cause of Cardinal Gasparri's defeat the natural affinity between Catholicism and Fascism? The Pope himself is the most absolute of dictators and Catholicism, like Fascism, is opposed to liberty on principle. It was inevitable that they should come together sooner or later.

There have been concessions on both sides. The Pope has in fact abandoned the old claim to the temporal power, for the "Vatican City" is not in any true sense of the term a territorial state. The Law of Guaranties gave him sovereignty and nearly everything else that he gets by the present agreement, except the absolute ownership of the Vatican and about 110 acres of land. He has no international guaranty, which was always declared to be essential to the independence of the Papacy, and depends in fact on the protection of the Italian state which takes the place held by the Roman Empire until the middle of the eighth century. On the other hand the new Concordat is an immense concession on the part of Mussolini, for it hands over Italy to the control of the church. It is a return almost to medieval conditions. The church alone will be free in an enslaved land. This Concordat, which the Pope himself has declared to have been the determining factor in his decision, is a valuable object-lesson, for it shows what Catholicism really is and what the Catholic church will do whenever and wherever it has the power. It means the end in Italy of religious liberty. Catholic religious teaching is to be compulsory in all schools for all pupils, the church is to have the control of marriage, Italian law is to be adapted to canon law, Catholic ecclesiastics and religious orders are to be put in a position of privilege. What an outcry there would be from Catholics if America or England made Protestant religious teaching compulsory in all schools for Catholic children! Catholics would then demand religious liberty in the spirit of the saying erroneously attributed to Louis Veuillot: "We claim from you the liberty which on your principles you are bound to give us, but which on our principles we shall deny to you when we have the power." That this accurately represents the Catholic attitude is shown by the Encyclical of Leo XIII condemning political liberalism (June 20, 1888). The following passage is characteristic:

> Although, in the extraordinary conditions of these times, the church usually acquiesces in certain modern liberties, not because she prefers them but because she judges it expedient to permit them, she would in happier times exercise her own liberty.

The "happier times" are coming in Italy where the Concordat will enable the church to "exercise her own liberty" and prevent other people from exercising theirs.

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It seems hardly doubtful that this agreement ties the church up with Fascism and that henceforth they stand or fall together in Italy. It becomes the interest of the Papacy to support Fascist policy at home and abroad, for, although any regime that might succeed to Fascism might well accept the "Vatican City," no other regime would accept the Concordat. Moreover, the downfall of the Fascist regime would probably now be accompanied by an anti-Catholic movement in Italy. The Papacy must, therefore, do all in its power to preserve the Fascist regime. On the other hand it becomes the interest of Fascism to support the Papacy at home and abroad, so the two great forces of reaction are united. No doubt the union will strengthen them both, at least for a time, but it will provoke the union of their opponents. Already the agreement has revived anti-clericalism in France. Before long all men of the Left in Europe will be obliged to recognize that they cannot fight Fascism, which is, like Catholicism, international, without also fighting the Catholic church. I doubt whether the consequences will be very happy or will conduce to the peace of Europe.

In France the agreement is regarded with almost universal suspicion and distrust. Only the one or two pro-Fascist papers welcome it. The diplomatists and politicians fear the encouragement that it has given, as the Fascist press shows, to the aggressive imperialism of Fascism. French Catholics fear that the church will suffer in general from coming under Italian influence and in France in particular from the anti-clerical feeling that the alliance between the Vatican and Fascism has aroused. They doubt whether the Pope has been wise in sacrificing to some extent, as he has done, his interests as head of the Universal Church to his interests as Bishop of Rome and head of the Italian church. They fear too that the Fascist regime may be less stable than the Pope appears to think it and that its downfall might have disastrous consequences to the Papacy and the church.

What Lies Behind Lynching

By HORACE M. BOND

IT is an old story that we are more inclined to grow indignant over the persistence of social evils than to seek reasons for their continuation, or palliatives for their correction. The recent horrible burning of Charley Shepherd, a Mississippi Negro accused of abduction and murder, may be taken as an illustration of this phenomenon. The crime of this child-minded brute, and his barbarous execution by a large throng whose action stamps its members as occupying a mental status but little removed from that of their victim, may fitly be taken to point the tale of mental poverty and its causes which were ultimately responsible for the entire situation. However helpful public indignation may be in bringing pressure to bear upon Mississippi's none too alert officials who figured in the case, it must remain largely ineffective unless those conditions which made the crime and its aftermath possible are understood and remedied.

Mississippi is one of a number of States in which the educational outlook is little short of desperate. In these States, located principally in the South, rarely is as much as 70 per cent of the Negro school population enrolled in the public schools. Of the nominal school enrolment, hardly 50 per cent is in regular attendance. School terms in many rural districts are still limited to four or five months, and even in cities six- and seven-month terms are by no means unusual. Children attend school in overcrowded buildings rented from lodges or churches, either with no regular desks and benches at all, or with antiquated relics carved with the monograms of several generations of children. In a day's inspection tour in a certain rural county the writer found but one blackboard in seven schools.

The teachers in schools of this type are drawn in increasing numbers from the ranks of recent high-school graduates and many of them are men and women trained in regular teacher-training institutions. There remain literally thousands who hold low-grade certificates representing a few desultory years in school, or examinations in which the grading officials are constrained for various reasons to be extremely lenient. Even those teachers who hold respectable certificates are themselves the products of a system inferior even to that now in vogue. The result is that in many instances they are on a plane of partial literacy little in advance of that of the children they teach.

One can imagine what type of citizen will be produced by such an educational machinery. Communities result where potential Charley Shepherds, murderers and rapists, are being bred. The deficiencies of the white schools, though not as exaggerated, are yet pronounced when compared with other States. When a State in the South announces a campaign to eliminate illiteracy, reference is had to white illiteracy, for the wretched school systems for Negroes are graduating illiterates from the school population to adult ranks every year by the thousand. If illiteracy were confined to Negro adults, one might be more confident of the future; but a survey of the children of school age reveals an illiteracy rate in different States of from 15 to 30 per cent.

State funds in the South are devoted to the education of the two races in a proportion far from equable. Taking the number of children from 6 to 13 years of age in the total population as a means for calculating per capita expenditures, the following comparison may be made for the ten States with the largest Negro population:

State	Per Cent of Total Population Aged 6 to 13 that are Negroes	Per Cent of Total Expenditures for Education Received by Negroes
South Carolina	54.9	10.66
Mississippi	53.0	10.51
Georgia	43.5	13.33
Louisiana	39.3	9.98
Alabama	38.9	8.40
Florida	36.9	7.91
North Carolina	31.5	12.13
Virginia	31.3	11.09
Arkansas	25.9	15.99
Tennessee	22.9	11.93

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Upon whose shoulders shall the blame for this condition of affairs be placed? In the past we have waxed eloquent in characterizing the diversion of State funds from Negro schools to those for whites as open thievery, and we have thought of Southern States which spend small sums on Negro education as deliberately refusing to accept the responsibility, implicit in the theory of the American state, that every child should have equal opportunities for educational training.

The Southern States are now spending as much money for education as many Northern States, if we take basic taxable wealth as a criterion of effort. The lists which show these States at the bottom of per capita expenditures by no means convey the full picture, since they do not show the coexistence of two peculiar phenomena largely responsible for the present state of education, particularly for Negroes, in the South. The first is the relative poverty of the States where the majority of Negroes reside. The second is that paradox of population statistics, that this low wealth index is accompanied by a larger percentage of children of educable age. Alabama, for example, is not only much less wealthy than California, but has also more children aged 6 to 13 in proportion to her adult population.

The average taxable wealth per capita educable child in the United States was $17,618 in 1922. If education is supported by a direct tax of any kind, the burden of supporting education in certain States becomes evident, as is seen in the following table giving per capita wealth for all children in the ten Southern States listed above:

State	Per Capita Wealth (Children 6 to 13)
South Carolina	$6,528
Mississippi	5,777
Georgia	6,465
Louisiana	9,572
Alabama	5,889
Florida	13,917
North Carolina	8,449
Virginia	10,811
Arkansas	7,191
Tennessee	9,368
United States (average)	17,618

To obtain as much money for education as, for example, Delaware, a median State where the per capita wealth is $18,665, can offer, Mississippi would be forced to levy a tax three times as high as that sufficient for Delaware. What has happened, of course, is that the "poor" States have chosen not to levy taxes of this nature. It is, perhaps, asking too much of human nature to expect that they would. They have levied taxes as high as those current in other States, and with the smaller funds available they have placed the major emphasis on white schools and scattered the remainder over the Negro schools.

Georgia, for example, expended in a typical year the sum of $2,175,000 for Negro education. This is $7.44 per capita for the Negro educables in the age group 6 to 13. In the same year Georgia spent $13,547,000 on white schools, or $35.34 per capita, white educable. The average for the United States in the same year showed an expenditure for all educables aged 6 to 13 of $81.19 per capita.

It is interesting to note, in this connection, that many patriotic persons interested in the welfare of the country have advocated recently spending on one unit of a program of national defense more money than the State of Georgia spends annually for the education of all of its children. If the cost of a cruiser be estimated at between $15,000,000 and $20,000,000, the application of the full cruiser appropriation to Negro education in the ten States listed above would support it as now conducted for twenty years. If the cost of one cruiser were distributed over these ten States for immediate expenditure, the per capita amount for Negro education would be doubled.

In another field of governmental interest various projects for internal improvements, such as the Mississippi-Great-Lakes-to-the-Gulf waterway and Boulder Dam, costing from two to five hundred million dollars and more, are frequently being proposed as proper objectives in our national program of social elevation. The first-mentioned sum, if applied to Mississippi's current school needs, would double the present per capita expenditure for both races and then support the schools for ten years on this improved level.

There is no prospect that the poor States here mentioned will solve their problems in the near future, either by becoming suddenly rich or by levying a tax three or four times as large as that now in operation. The only alternative to the perpetuation of the present condition, anomalous in a country professing equal opportunity as the foundation of its program for good citizenship, must be found in the continued development of our theory of financing education. When it was found that the district and the ward as taxing units were building up a class system of education, we shifted the burden to larger units, so that the child from a poor district or a poor ward could have the same kind of education opportunity given to the child in the richer sections. In turn the taxing unit, as it still proved itself a creator of inequalities, expanded until the States were hit upon as the proper units for school taxation.

Considering the double burden of poverty and excess ratio of children, it is just as unfair to expect Mississippi to maintain a system of education equal to that of California as it would have been in the time of Horace Mann to expect a district in rural Massachusetts to maintain a school for its children equal in efficiency to that supported by a tax on the property of the Back Bay district in Boston. In the possibility that a way may be found to connect the present intolerable situation of the Negro schools in the South, there is perhaps a common ground upon which Mr. Dyer, author of the recent federal anti-lynching measure that failed of passage, and Mr. Harrison, of Mississippi, its inveterate foe, may meet.

In the Driftway

WHY are Americans disliked in Europe, especially in Great Britain and France? There are a great many answers. Chief among them is that after getting disgustingly wealthy out of the World War the United States has been the tightest kind of a Shylock in regard to the collection of the European debts. This is cause enough for an unfriendly attitude toward America, but the Drifter thinks there is something which rankles still more. Perhaps it can be best explained by two anecdotes. The first comes out of the newspapers and is that a director of student tours in this country recently wrote

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to 1,000 hotel managers in Europe asking them to regulate their cooking so as to conform to American tastes and habits. "American travelers in Europe find themselves often indisposed owing to indigestion as a result of eating the food set before them on European tables," the director wrote with a lack of tact only exceeded by his execrable taste in cookery. What country other than our own glorious and prosperous republic could produce that kind of a blunderbus? When one considers that the only two native cults of cookery in the United States—that of the New England grandmother and that of the Southern mammy—are almost extinct before the onslaughts of the quick-lunch counter and the international hotel, and that the best restaurants in our large cities are usually unostentatious places in the foreign quarters, he is amazed at the effrontery of a director of tours who undertakes to tell Europe how to cook. But supposing the lecture was justified, why should any American want to go abroad to eat the same kind of food he has at home even if it does agree with him better? The American whose purpose in going abroad is *not to have indigestion* would better stay at home and not have it here.

* * * * *

THE other anecdote was related to the Drifter by an American long resident in France, who lately conducted a party of recently arrived countrymen on a visit to a prehistoric cave near a provincial city in the South. The visitors had been warned in advance to take stout shoes, but one young man brought a pair that needed resoling and said airily upon arriving about nine o'clock Saturday night that he would send them out to be mended in time for use the next morning. The leader of the party doubted it, and was not surprised when a bellboy, sent out with the shoes, came back to say that all the cobbler's shops were closed. Whereupon the American stormed, and declared that he himself would find somebody to do the job. He did by disturbing some cobbler's Saturday night and paying him three times the usual price to sit up and finish the shoes by Sunday morning. That annoyed the townsmen, but they were absolutely shocked when they learned that the American, after wearing the shoes on the one trip to the cave, had then indifferently thrown them away.

* * * * *

EUROPE is less envious of the possessors of riches than we are; it it more used to unequal distribution. Europe is not even unduly shocked by the waste of money; it is used to that. Americans may squander their substance on wine, women, and song, without criticism. Other foreigners, and Europeans themselves, do the same. But when Americans use their money to corrupt and change European habits and ideas it is resented. We are the leaders in cataclysmal social and industrial changes many of which thoughtful persons all over the world regret. The spread of that kind of Americanization in Europe causes bitterness. We may gorge ourselves to the gills, and no European will object, but we may not instruct his cooks in their job. We may buy as many shoes as we want for as much as we like, but we must not outrage the sensibilities of a town by a disregard for human values and visible contempt for its philosophy of thrift. It is the awful power of the dollar to degrade the human spirit that makes Americans disliked in Europe. THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Hooverlujah Chorus

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In addition to such hymns as "All Hail the Power of Hoover's Name," which are to be sung tomorrow by the Stanford choir as a part of the inauguration broadcast, the same choir this evening is to sing "The Messiah" in honor of the new President. When one compares this treatment of Hoover by citizens of his home town with that accorded Jesus by his fellow-townsmen of Galilee, it ought to be evident, even to the readers of *The Nation,* that every day in the Republican way the world is getting better and better. The only criticism I have is that the original words of the Hallelujah Chorus are to be used when it would have been so easy to substitute "Hooverlujah."

Stanford University, March 3 PAL O' AL TOO

Scott Nearing and the Campaign

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of February 13, in the course of one of your editorials you state that I declared the campaign of the Workers (Communist) Party a failure. (1) I do not believe the campaign was a failure. Quite the contrary. (2) Never, to my knowledge, have I said or written that it was a failure. By publishing such a statement you do the Workers (Communist) Party a serious disservice, and I wish you would publish this letter at an early date.

Los Angeles, February 17 SCOTT NEARING

[Mr. Nearing's answer to our editorial is surprising in view of his own published statements. In the issue of the *Communist* for December, 1928, Mr. Nearing said:

> Outside of New York, in the course of two months' campaigning, I did not see more than two enthusiastic rallies, and both of them were in smaller industrial towns. The people who came to party campaign meetings were for the most part apathetic, indifferent, inquisitive, fearful, or hostile. Failure to attract the masses during the election campaign carried with it inevitable failure to increase the party membership. Again with the exception of New York, so far as I was able to ascertain, the two months of campaigning did not bring any considerable increase in party members. Generalizing: The party consumed its energy and its means merely in conducting the campaign. It failed to reach the masses and it failed to record any notable membership increase.

We leave it to our readers to judge whether this statement is not a complete justification of our editorial comment.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

Blessings of the Radio

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am deeply pained by the cruel things Mr. Sinclair Lewis says, in *The Nation* for March 6, about the radio. Without that handsome parlor ornament how should I ever have heard the new Vice-President swear in several batches of fresh Senators, requiring them solemnly to defend the Constitution "without mental *obligation*"? Lo the Poor Indian doesn't speak the white man's language very well.

Austin, Texas, March 5 ROBERT C. STEPHENSON

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The Centralia Horror

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The Centralia case constitutes one of the major horrors of what is called civilization in America at the present day. Everyone who knows anything about this case knows that the men were innocent of the crime for which they were convicted. Everyone knows that they shot in self-defense, because their hall was invaded and their lives placed in danger. Every American knows that he would shoot under similar circumstances, and that under the law he has the right, and even the duty to shoot. And yet, because these men were and are rebels against wage-slavery for workers, they are kept in jail upon a frame-up, and the world goes its way, making its money and spending it for pleasures, heedless, without conscience, without heart. How can the jurors sleep at night, knowing the crime of which they carry the guilt? How can the great governor sleep? How can his wife sleep? Or any other man or woman who knows the truth? This is one of the mysteries of life that make one despair for the human race.

Los Angeles, March 17 Upton Sinclair

We Hold the Bag

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: There are those who are opposed to the settlement of the reparations problem by means of a bond issue because such an issue would necessarily be purchased by American investors; this, they say, would relieve our former Allies of their debts to our government and transfer to America or, what amounts to the same thing, her capitalists, the nasty task of actually getting the money out of Germany.

It seems to me that unless the other nations of the world change their tariff policies and permit Germany to pay in goods and services, that is exactly what will happen in any event, whether the German government issues bonds or not. If the Dawes payments are continued there will be a chronic shortage of money in Germany, and business men will have to seek loans abroad in order to carry on their operations; the United States will be, according to present indications, the principal market for international loans for many years to come, and naturally a very large proportion of such loans would be made by American investors. Thus no matter what the mechanism of paying reparations is they are finally paid with the proceeds of an American mortgage on German industry.

Oak Park, Illinois, January 22 J. D. C.

Philippine Colonels

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Through inadvertence my article published in *The Nation* on January 23 contained the statement that the highest rank in the Philippine Scouts is that of major when it should be that of colonel.

Washington, February 9 V. G. Bunuan

ESSAY PRIZE

All essays in The Nation's *3,600-words essay contest on "What is Making for War with England?" must be at the office of* The Nation *before midnight of April 1. For the terms of the competition see the issue of January 23 or address Prize Essay Editor,* The Nation. *Competitors may sign their own names or a pseudonym.*

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Books and Drama

Prairie

By BORGHILD LEE

Though my feet have taken
Root in the brown mold,
Nothing here to lean against,
Nothing to hold.

Prairie winds have blown
Four walls into space,
And left me swaying, dizzy,
Shielding my face.

Tree-windows, let green shutters
Rise and fall,
Move in, mountains,
Let me lean against your wall!

This Week

New England Devils

AT a moment when narrative poetry is attracting publishers and public interest—after surviving a period of general suspicion and downright dislike—Mary Alice Kimball's volume "The Devil Is a Woman"* is an interesting contribution to the art. This group of poems is better narrative than it is poetry. It includes two long stories, the title poem and The Mating-Flight of Stasia Whitsett, together with several shorter poems which are also stories or fragments of stories. These tales are told in crisp New England vernacular; only once in a while is colloquial realism sacrificed to the exigencies of meter or the poetic use of words. Alice Mary Kimball has some ideas to express, some people to create, some legends to hand on, and she has chosen a method which undoubtedly seemed to her the most effective and economical and pointed. She speaks with the voice, not of angels, but of women—shrewd and earth-bound philosophers who know the latest theories of modern psychology and biology as well as the ancient wisdoms. She exhibits a slyness and shrewdness and an almost ferocious penetration which include and transcend the same qualities found in the persons of her dramas. Where they go through the form of paying tribute, if only lip-service, to the old shibboleths of behavior, she transfixes both with a sharp and subtle pen.

Best of the stories is the first, The Devil Is a Woman. Here are humor and wit and almost cruel exposure. Miss Kimball's poisonous satire is even more deadly because of the deceptive note of Christian good-cheer that glosses the horrid tale. In this one short narrative she devastatingly reveals what "purity" becomes in its logical extreme. This is the story of the death of Pardon Janes who had sworn that never "would he ever touch a woman, or a thing a woman touched"; and it was a sort of irony that the person who tells the story and who washed his body for the burial should have "once had a wedding veil laid out across the bed to marry him." Generally speaking "the Janes men was the kind that live in cities because their acts won't stand their neighbors' eyes." But Pardon "grew up the first of all the tribe . . . fit for a sweet young girl to be alone with." His mother had brought him up to be pure. So, the narrator tells us: "The present corpse and I kept company five years or more after his folks died off." But the marriage never took place; for Pardon had a warning vision in the night. An angel led him to hell and there he saw the devil; the devil was "a comely, naked woman . . . like the pictures in the French magazines." And Pardon swore his mighty oath, and passed the rest of his life alone, single, and armed with a pitchfork with which he drove off female fiends and opened door latches that had been touched by women.

But when the ladies of the Aid helped to arrange for his funeral they were astonished to find his coffin all ready and his burial suit folded in it and laid inside the suit a diary "the poor remains had kept . . . through all the years." The ladies of the Aid read the diary and found the details of Pardon's war with Satan: a girl who tempted him and whom he kissed among the haycocks—and then drove off with the pitchfork; a woman in the pasture lot "dressed up so thin I couldn't help but see right through her"; the kitchen-wall papered with newspapers which he "didn't notice . . . was chock-full of women's pictures." That entry was the beginning of his death grapple with the devil—who was a woman. For the pictures came alive and "jiggled round the table"—though he'd covered their faces with sheets of writing paper. They lured him and taunted him. "They minced and preened." Each night he grabbed his pitchfork to chase them away; finally they came twice in the same night and "didn't shoo so easy as before." "And he went down to death, contending with them." The pitchfork was buried with Pardon.

The Mating-Flight of Stasia Whitsett is less sardonic. It is a legend and a fairy-tale, though the sleeping princess is a farm woman, daughter of old Judge Whitsett; the prince is an Italian immigrant; the dragons are the local business men dressed in the white robes of the Ku Klux Klan; and the fairy godmother, who tells the story, is an itinerant seller of "beauty aids" who bumps into town in her "Lizzie" selling rouge and lipsticks to New England matrons and contriving to leave behind a bit of cheery biologic lore for "folks too tragic and too doctrine-bound." The tale should be read aloud, not summarized; it is important only to say that it fells many dragons, besides those dressed in robes—the dragons of prudery and intolerance chief among them—and the weapons are a deadly mockery and the sharp thrusting sword of science.

I hope Miss Kimball will write more stories as good as these and I wish that she would write some of them in honest prose. Occasionally, as I read her tales, the verse form, free and unstilted though it is, bothered me; and when I came to write this review I found myself quoting phrases and even longer fragments without resort to the artful aids of capital letters and sentences broken into rhythmic lines.

FREDA KIRCHWEY

* Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

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Warfare at Sea

Freedom of the Seas. By the Hon. J. M. Kenworthy, M.P., and George Young, M.P. Horace Liveright. $4.

THESE two distinguished authors have given a misleading title to this volume. It is really a potpourri of material relating to warfare at sea from the American Civil War down to the present day, of great value to anyone who wishes to be informed as to the status of every phase of the question of naval war and peace, together with their own views as to how war between England and the United States may be avoided. Here are facts as to the actual achievements of the German submarines; an amazingly able discussion of the hopeless timidity and conservatism of the British Admiralty in its conduct of the war, notably its refusal to bomb the shipyards in which the German submarines were being built; the story of the Hague Conferences; the Declaration of London; the question of blockades before and during the World War; the Rush-Bagot agreement, etc. One long chapter is given to Freedom of the Seas After the War, and another to the Command of the Seas and the Peace. Special attention is, of course, devoted to the question of Anglo-American relations, and the whole subject is treated with a desire to make a definite contribution to permanent peace.

Rarely does one find a book so replete with information. Out of Commander Kenworthy's own experience and knowledge there are recorded facts never before published. But the volume is gravely handicapped by a lack of proper and logical arrangement and handling of the material which, together with the absence of an adequate index, means that many nuggets of fact must be dug out of the text, while there is nothing in the title, or even in the table of contents, to give a proper idea of the value of the whole. We jump, for instance, in the second chapter, from a consideration of blockades to the submarine history of the World War and then go on to a discussion of the new naval warfare and the old, the story of commerce destruction by German cruisers, the question whether cruisers can protect commerce, then air and gas blockade and the use of gas in the American navy, after which we learn that the warship is a totally obsolete weapon, that air blockade is the future weapon, and that naval blockade must be abandoned—all jumbled together. Nor are the constructive proposals well thought out and stated.

This lack of proper presentation is the more regrettable because important theses are laid down here and defended by these able authors. Just after Congress has voted the fifteen additional cruisers it does not reflect upon our common sense to read on the authority of so distinguished a naval officer as Commander Kenworthy that "the armored ship-of-war is as obsolete today in reality as was the armored horse man-of-war after the introduction of gunpowder." Under certain war conditions, the authors say, if an early decision is not forced by air bombardment it will be sought by air blockade. "In such air warfare sea power and surface warships would scarcely count at all." And they quote General Mason Patrick of our own army air service as saying that "under proper conditions we can put out of commission or sink any naval craft which floats."

As for the question of the freedom of the seas, Messrs. Kenworthy and Young desire an Anglo-American treaty against war which shall go several steps further than the Kellogg Pact. Under it the two nations would bind themselves to reduce armaments by ratio to the force required for an imperial and international police, would recognize that no police operations would be undertaken by one party except in conjunction with the other, and would provide for cooperation in the revision of international law as affecting naval warfare. It needs only to state this proposal to show its impracticability. Great masses of Americans would fight such a proposal to the uttermost and nothing could create greater alarm in the rest of the world than this pooling of British and American forces. It would be the rest of the world against the Anglo-Saxons. Nothing daunted by that the authors warmly urge upon England and America an agreement "to maintain on the high seas navies of equal strength which in combination could cope with any possible combination—in short, an armed neutrality." At the same time they admit that no radical change can be made without altering the present atmosphere and attitude of both England and the United States, and they are gravely insistent that, unless prompt steps are taken to halt the race for naval supremacy between the two countries, war is bound to come.

Among other constructive suggestions they would have the British Government make a great move for Anglo-Saxon peace by proposing a revision of the Covenant of the League of Nations "so as to embody the second of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, thus in effect renouncing the right of private blockade in a private war." In addition, our authors suggest the neutralization of the Narrow Seas by regional agreements in cooperation with other sea Powers, the international prohibition of traffic in arms, and an agreement for general assent in the case of an economic naval blockade. Finally they appeal for such a change in the League of Nations as will bring the United States and the Soviet Union into a Federated League.

If the recommendations are less strong than the general factual value of the book, that puts the authors in no worse plight than the many others who try to regulate force and believe that the world must continue to go through the sham of creating a structure of international law to be violated at every point at war time and of maintaining fleets to police other people. The great desideratum is the outlawry of war and the total abolition of fleets and armies. Any paltering with this fact maintains the admirals and generals who more than anyone else talk war and stir hostility, and generally keeps alive the un-Christian and immoral war system, with its new threats against the existence of humanity itself.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Man's Inhumanity to Man

I Saw It Myself. By Henri Barbusse. Translated from the French by Bryan Rhys. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.50.

THE eager thousands troop to the bookstalls (so we note from the best-seller lists) to get copies of Mr. Robert L. Ripley's curious book "Believe It or Not." There is, however, another "Believe It or Not" which has come out of the harder, darker life of Old Europe and which chronicles happenings and incidents no less unbelievable, incredible, and amazing, all devoted to illustrating a theme which seems to have escaped Mr. Ripley: "Man's inhumanity to man," as the poet called it. I speak of M. Henri Barbusse's book "I Saw It Myself." Unlike its competitor (or shall I say complement?), it has not become the ideal parlor diversion and it will not fall in so well with the happy mood of idle curiosity which belongs to our comfortable civilization. It is not, as the Reds and radicals say, bourgeois.

We have become familiar in post-war America with a scant regard for civil liberties. There are native tales of terror in our annals. We know our coal fields, company towns, and raids, clubbings, wholesale injunctions in connection with strikes. Yet despite this background the American will find it hard to believe the tales recounted in "I Saw It Myself" of the brutality and torture and insanity which fell to the lot of human beings all over the world, but particularly in the Balkans and

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Eastern Europe, during the war and the years that followed it. Consider: War is hell, but still it seems unusually monstrous for the Allied Command to have mowed down thousands of soldiers of a Russian battalion isolated in France which refused to fight any longer after hearing the glorious news of the revolution at home. This is the way political prisoners have been treated in Rumania: They have been put in chains, clamped in iron cages, subjected to the "Ghorla" (a scheme for making prisoners squat for weeks in a low, narrow hole in the rock), and, as not even the mercy of capital punishment exists in Rumania, the authorities have devised subtle methods for getting rid of particularly objectionable prisoners: they are exposed to other prisoners who have the typhus, or are allowed to "escape" and then shot in the process. This is a story from a Hungarian prison: two lovers were closely bound to each other for weeks till they came to revolt and disgust each other. A touch of comedy: In a Spanish village an idealistic schoolmaster shot a visiting rector dead when the latter cursed him for teaching his pupils that all men were equal. An instance of contamination: In the Balkans several cases occurred of children hanging one of their playmates as a result of the amenities of their elders.

There are more such true tales of horror. A lesser artist than the author of "Under Fire" would have made the telling of them less effective by overstating them. He would have added his scathing commentaries, raged and ranted of capitalists, militarists, and exploiters. Certainly Barbusse is aware that these exist, but the secret of his art has always been that he pities them as much as their victims. He is the paradoxical revolutionist who remains a humanist. When he preaches the brotherhood of man, he has in mind both sides of the equation. He lives and works in the tradition which derives from the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Thus, even the mildest and most polite of liberals will find himself disturbed by his recitals. When such inhuman incidents can be related with restraint, it is less easy to dismiss them with the thought that, after all, they must be highly exceptional. WILLIAM SEAGLE

International Necessity

The Doctrine of Necessity in International Law. By Burleigh Cushing Rodick. Columbia University Press. $4.

MR. RODICK'S book is an attempt to supply the need for a critical and extended study of what, to the popular mind at least, is one of the most familiar and most abused doctrines of international law. The term necessity is often employed, sometimes alone, sometimes qualified as political or legal necessity, sometimes transformed into political or legal self-defense. An examination of the textbook writers, from Grotius down, shows that while some of them have found the basis of the doctrine in theoretical conceptions, writers of the historical school have insisted that "any correct analysis of the problem of necessity should be based upon actual cases illustrative of its use." Mr. Rodick adopts the latter method, and the larger part of his text (about two-fifths of the book is occupied with references and an index) is devoted to a summary survey of the application of the doctrine in cases involving national jurisdiction, the high seas, "non-amicable modes of redress of war," war itself on land or sea, and the problem of neutrality.

The results of the inquiry, while contributing substantially to the clarification of a moot issue, are hardly such as to enhance respect for the morality of nations. Necessity has been drawn upon to justify the claims of the United States to forcible control of seals and sealing in Bering Sea, American intervention in Latin America, the German invasion of Belgium, the British flouting of neutral rights during the World War, the Japanese occupation of Shantung, and similar exercises of national power. A curious aspect of the situation appears to be that while necessity, in such instances, cannot exactly be said to have known no law, the greed of gain or struggle for survival has sought to justify itself by the contention that international law, if properly construed, sanctioned the excesses committed in its name.

Mr. Rodick's temper, however, is that of the jurist, and he leaves to others the task of rubbing in the blame. His conclusions are cautious. The doctrine of necessity, as a legal principle, should, he thinks, be confined "with all possible strictness" to "those circumstances in which the law has in advance given an express sanction for its use," or to "the defense of acknowledged rights," or to cases "in which the necessity of defending the state actually exists in point of fact." No greater amount of extra-legal force should be used than circumstances render obligatory, "the danger must be so imminent and overwhelming that time and opportunity are lacking in which to provide other and adequate means of defense," and "the equities of the situation" should be considered "other things being equal." Finally, resort to lawful self-defense does not necessarily relieve a state "from financial responsibility for any excessive damage that its action has produced." It was this latter principle, it may be noted, that von Bethmann-Hollweg accepted in his famous speech to the Reichstag defending the German invasion of Belgium. WILLIAM MACDONALD

De Gustibus

The Whirligig of Taste. By E. E. Kellett. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $1.25.

IN an introductory note Mr. Kellett informs us that he intends to describe "a few specimens of the greater changes in literary taste" in order that we may find "something like a solid foundation amid the shifting sands of criticism." With erudition and wit he displays his specimens, selected both from ancient and from modern literatures, and then he offers his conclusion: "The one thing certain is that there is no certainty." If this is Mr. Kellett's conception of a solid foundation, one wishes he had taken the trouble to demonstrate what could be built on it.

The difficulty appears to be that Mr. Kellett has misunderstood the function of the critic. In his concern to show how often the most careful judgments have been reversed by later ages, he seems to assume that critics are playing a guessing-game with posterity. He is like *Variety,* which scores New York critics by comparing their verdicts on a play with the play's subsequent success. Critics may sometimes venture to prophesy, but when they do so they are indulging a human weakness, not performing their true function.

The function of the critic is, certainly, to focus all his resources on the book at hand, in order to illuminate not only the particular book but also, so far as lies within his power, life and literature. If he does this honestly, it matters little whether or no posterity agree with his verdict. Of course taste changes; of course critics say things which seem asinine to later generations; of course no man, even if he believes in absolute values, can be sure he knows what they are. But the fact that there are no certified literary yardsticks does not excuse a man for failing to distinguish between a passing fancy and a considered judgment; and the fact that critics have made egregious errors should not discourage one from stating his honest beliefs as vigorously as may be. The very facts Mr. Kellett has assembled do not in reality point toward spineless, apologetic impressionism. On the contrary, the vagaries of taste should convince us that the criterion of critical excellence is not and can-

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not be the degree of correspondence between the critic's judgment and the public taste either present or future; what counts is the quality of intelligence and imagination behind the criticism, the power of clarification, the relating of knowledge and experience to the problem at hand.

It would appear, then, that Mr. Kellett has not only told us what we all know but has arrived at conclusions that cannot be defended. Nevertheless, there is some utility in his having emphasized the obvious at the present time. If he had ventured to carry his survey beyond the Victorian era, he might have found in the present period one of those specimens of change which he has so lovingly culled from the past. The so-called younger generation, disgusted with the slovenly and sentimental anarchism that has dominated American criticism for many years, are reviving the talk about standards and values, and are beginning to coquette with Babbitt and More. They could do worse, but the danger is that they may substitute one type of laziness for another. Mr. Kellett's book may warn them that even the standards of the academic humanists are to be accepted with caution and applied—as Babbitt, indeed, would be the first to say—with imagination.

There is one other service which "The Whirligig of Taste" renders, and that is to point out the intimate relation between literature and philosophical, scientific, and political tendencies. Because the greatest artists have risen above their environment, it is sometimes assumed that social conditions have nothing to do with the development of a particular genius or of a golden age of writers. Mr. Kellett's researches point to the opposite conclusion, and his arguments ought to give pause to those who scorn any attempt to associate the desire for a flourishing literature with the effort for a better social order.

GRANVILLE HICKS

Above the Battle

On Doing the Right Thing. By Albert Jay Nock. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

THESE essays from the inimitable pen of Albert Jay Nock are, with one exception, reprints of articles which have appeared during the last three years in *Harper's Magazine* and the *American Mercury*. They are not, however, as miscellaneous as that fact would appear to indicate; they have, as their author points out in his foreword, a certain unity in that each bears on some aspect of American civilization. Indeed, if one except the field of the fine arts, there is hardly an aspect of our cultural life that does not come in for examination and appraisal within the covers of this book. The first essay, which is perhaps also the best, is the illuminating study of Artemus Ward as a critic of American life, with which Mr. Nock prefaced his book of selections from Ward, published in 1924. In the others the author examines the American variants of conversation, literature, taste for bathos, education, politics, manners.

Mr. Nock is a wise and penetrating critic, and his objectivity and good humor make him an extremely engaging critic. Where other writers are prone either to eulogize or disparage things American, he performs the service of dispassionate appraisal. If at times he appears rather exasperatingly above the battle, one must remember that it is precisely this aloofness that gives value to his work. In his own words, "criticism reckons with the causes of things, and it duly apprehends the length of the course which matters must run under their propulsion, or even under the force of inertia after these causes are no longer operative. Hence, criticism invariably judges social phenomena according to the strength and inveteracy of the causes that give rise to them." The kind of criticism that this method produces is not merely the only kind that has any practical value, but it saves both the critic and his reader a great deal of energy that otherwise would be wasted in exasperation or moral indignation.

Although Mr. Nock thus spares his readers a considerable waste of emotion, he cannot spare them the depression that results from his clear and candid exposition of the reasons for the failure of American civilization in all those qualities which make for an interesting collective and individual life. Nor does he relieve this depression by holding out an illusory hope of betterment within their lifetime. Therefore one closes his book, interesting and delightful though it is, with a nagging desire (to make free with one of his quotations from Ward) to knock down a rich go-getter, pick his pocket of a few bank-notes, and wildly embark on the first ship sailing for foreign parts—destination not material.

It is a poor critic who does not provoke dissent; and so one finds oneself often enough inclined to challenge Mr. Nock's opinions or his conclusions. In the matter of education, for example, one must be grateful for his clear distinction between instrumental and formative knowledge. But when he proposes a college whose curriculum shall be confined to Greek and Roman literature, mathematics, logic, and the history of the English language, one is inclined to ask whether he believes that wisdom perished with the Greeks and Romans, and whether one is to ignore the immense influence that the development of modern science has exercised in emancipating mankind from its bondage to superstition. Not even formative education is so simple now as Mr. Nock's plan suggests. The cultivated man must, after all, belong to his own age; he cannot belong to the age of the Greeks and the Romans; and since the days of the Greeks and Romans the field of culture has enormously expanded. The cultivated person of today must know something of languages and literatures more modern than Greek and Latin, and he must have at least a speaking acquaintance with science and the arts. Why exclude these studies from those years in which he is supposedly making education the serious business of his life?

This is said in no spirit of cavil. With Mr. Nock's criticism of the want of seriousness in American higher education, and the resultant vulgarity of manners and failure in general intelligence, one must agree unreservedly, whether or not one regards the course of education he prescribes as a promising remedy for the situation. And so with the other essays. One may differ with the author on certain points, but one finds oneself in pretty general agreement with him on fundamentals, even where his thought is new and challenging. Indeed, one may say of Mr. Nock's critical writings what Goethe—I think—said of his own works: that they exercise "a certain liberating effect" upon the spirit. There can be no higher praise than this.

SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

Books in Brief

Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States, 1828-1928. By Nathan Fine. Rand School of Social Science. $3.15.

One hundred years of farmer and labor parties in the United States have ended with the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover machine more strongly intrenched than ever, the La Follette movement dead, the Socialist Party reduced to a shadow, and the Communist and Socialist-Labor parties so small that the average citizen does not even know of their existence. But no one can read Mr. Fine's history and feel that the fight of minority parties has been in vain. They have given vitality to our politics. They have lived to see many of their most "revolutionary" proposals, from free education to the income tax,

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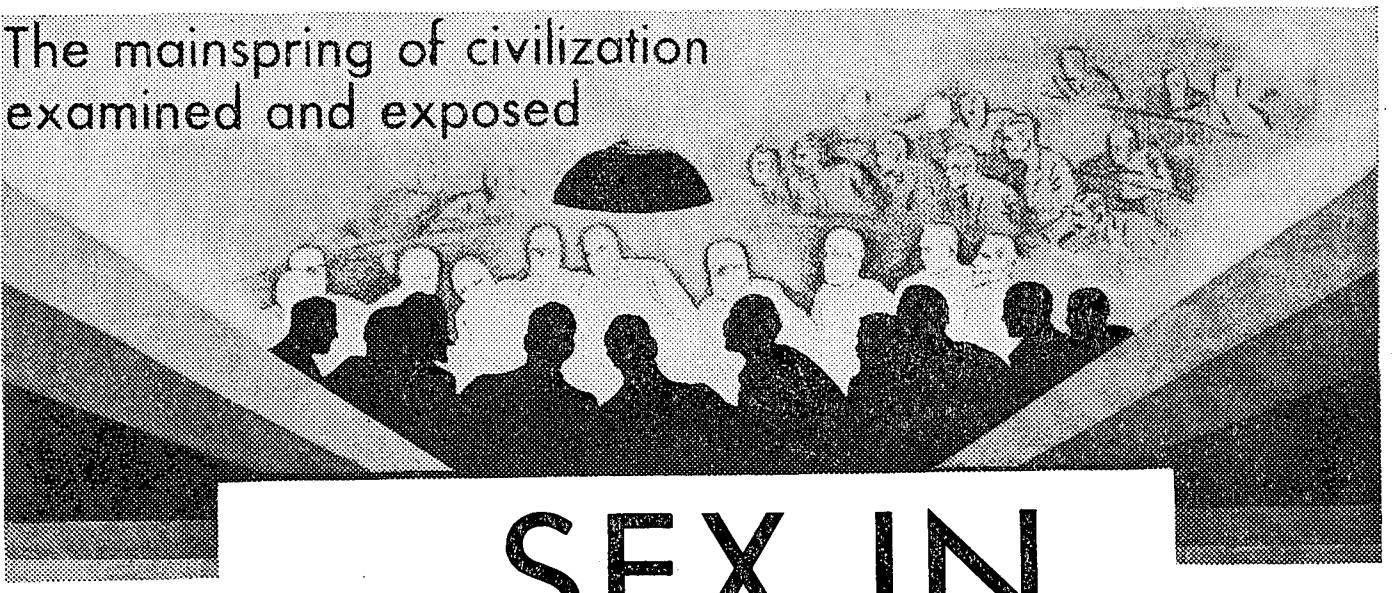

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adopted and respectable. If they have failed to win governmental power it has been not so much because they have been wrong as because the labor and farm organizations in the industrial field have been too weak to support a political superstructure. The heroic struggle of these parties of the Left makes a dramatic story, and Mr. Fine has told it well. He begins with America's first labor party which was launched by the Mechanics' Union of Philadelphia in 1928 and brings the reader through the campaigns of Henry George, the greenbackers, the Populists, the De Leonites, the Socialists, the Communists, and the Progressives. He handles his facts with such sound selective judgment and critical fairness that his book is likely to become the authority in this field.

anarchism is not enough. By Laura Riding. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

The meat of this collection of essays is in a long article called "Jocasta," a criticism primarily of Wyndham Lewis and incidentally of most of the prominent writers of the day. Imperfectly translated from Miss Riding's jargon into something a little more like the King's English, her position seems to be this: both classicism and romanticism are wrong and, despite their quarrels, are wrong in the same way; what is right is pure individualism, standing completely outside the processes of nature and not to be judged with respect to any system of extrinsic values. Inasmuch as Miss Riding has some slight difficulty in making this position clear in a hundred-page essay, one can hardly hope to state it fairly in a two-hundred-word review. What is certain is that Miss Riding has found a point of view which, whatever else may be said about it, is, considered pragmatically, of some value, since it enables her to see authors in a new way and to say things about them that have not been said. It is this fact which encourages us to struggle with her obscurities and to pardon her eccentricities.

Drama Notes

IF the serious melodramas of another age are to be reproduced as burlesques to draw the laughter of the present, they may need to have the burlesque emphasized. Melodrama does, it is true, vary from age to age, but there is something universal in melodrama, and audiences cannot always be trusted to detect the changes of fashion which have taken place. The audience which saw "The Octoroon" of Dion Boucicault (Maxine Elliott's Theater) was plainly not always sure whether to smile or to sympathize. The play as originally produced in 1859 was preposterous enough. It had, of course, a mortgage and a black-mustached villain and a family of quivering gentlefolks and a manly hero and a tragic heroine to die at the final curtain and a bluff man-of-all-tricks, to say nothing of faithful slaves in droves and a victim child and, somewhat surprisingly, an Indian to bring the note of primitive justice in. It had high-toned speeches on many moral topics and numerous touches of that supreme silliness which can be reached only when Southern women are interpreted on the Northern stage. But with this absurd plot was involved a tolerable amount of genuine character and more than a little honest emotion. The problem of the producer, who can hardly have cared much for Boucicault as such, was obviously to minimize the genuine character and honest emotion and to stress the absurdities. This was not done. Instead, the actors appeared to lack the courage of their caricature and gave the play more or less as it was given before the Civil War. The new audience had to guess when to laugh at the antiquated heroics, and did not guess frequently enough. The result was unfortunate, for as the play never had any merit of its own, its prosperity lay solely with the audience. If this production of "The Octoroon" is to go on pleasing, it must make its burlesque elements unmistakable. C. V. D.

The ingenuous Phil Baker with his accordion and his friend up in the box combines with Shaw and Lee, those charming lunatics, and with Jack Pearl to make "Pleasure Bound" (Majestic Theater) a revue worth seeing. There are bevies of expert dancing maidens, troops of almost if not quite beautiful girls who wear startling gowns, yards of gorgeous scenery; there is Aileen Stanley who looks as if she ought to be a schoolteacher, but who sings in a particularly clear and beguiling voice. And after that one gets back to Mr. Baker, to Mr. Pearl, to Shaw and Lee. No other show in town has them; which means that no other show is as fortunate as "Pleasure Bound."

Earl Carroll in "Fioretta" (Earl Carroll Theater) has combined Fannie Brice, Leon Errol, Lionel Atwill, and six acres of gold brocade into what, it must be confessed, is a singularly dull piece. It simply shows that a fine gift for pageantry, a gorgeous taste in color, and unlimited money—all of which Mr. Carroll apparently possesses—do not necessarily make a good show. D. V. D.

"Spring is Here" (Alvin Theater) is a deft, though conventional, musical comedy, which depends for its very pleasant effect upon a general impudent gaiety rather than upon the sublime insanities of, say, a band of Marx brothers or a Phil Baker. The fact that Glenn Hunter neither sings nor dances, helps rather than hinders him in his role of a shy young "sap" who gets the girl in the end. The songs seem more important than they are, thanks to Lillian Taiz and especially Inez Courtney, the irrepressible flapper, who are ably supported by a young and symmetrical chorus. M. M.

A performance of "The Devil's Disciple" at the Neighborhood Playhouse on February 23 by players from the dramatic department of Rutgers University showed the achievement possible in the hands of a gifted director. Mrs. Jane Inge, in three years, has trained a group to give a creditable, sustained presentation of a play in which they had learned the entire mechanical and artistic structure. This the public could see; what it could not see was the steady development which made possible the background of artistic appreciation shown by the performance. This is the justification for the dramatic work of the universities; and it is a personal achievement for the man or woman whose single-minded artistry has brought it into being. L. W. B.

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International Relations Section

Jugoslavia

By G. E. R. GEDYE

Belgrade, February 2

IT will be interesting to see how two diametrically opposed attempts to solve very similar problems succeed in Rumania and Jugoslavia. Dr. Maniu, son of the "new" provinces, has overthrown the corrupt "veiled dictatorship" of the Liberals in the former country and, with a democratic mandate, is seeking in the name of "Westernism" to rebuild the state. The Croats, in Jugoslavia, complained also of an unacknowledged dictatorship of the most "Oriental" elements of the state, of "made" elections, of a corrupt and inefficient political civil service. Had Stephen Radich possessed the balance of Dr. Maniu in addition to his personal magnetism, he, too, might have become a national instead of a racial peasant leader. Largely because he lacked such balance, the Jugoslav problem developed on different lines, the Croats ceasing to concern themselves with the Serbs, but demanding the right to put their own house in order.

As with Rumania, the financial moment was decisive. This is a useful reminder to students of affairs of the post-war decrease of the direct influence of foreign offices, embassies, and legations, and the vast access of power to international finance-capital among the credit-hungry countries of Europe. Your banking group has no questions to answer in Parliament, its ambassadors are forced to maintain no press attachés to furnish information even with the maximum of evasion, for it desires not a good press, but no press at all. It has no electors to face, and its shareholders are concerned only with results, not with methods. A balance sheet is less communicative than the whitest of white papers. But the urgencies of post-war Europe compel states to submit foreign policies, home affairs, armaments, army, navy, and civil service to the approval of the invisible international forces which are able, if they will, to perform the functions once designed for the League of Nations, without its responsibilities. The Croats, following the lead of the Rumanians of Transylvania, had warned the powers of Wall Street and Lombard Street that they regarded the Belgrade Government as fraudulently elected, its acts as illegal.

There was one way of circumventing the Croat plan of financial starvation and that was, without bothering about Croat approval, to establish a regime which would secure the confidence of international finance. The question of supreme interest today is: Who originated the coup—the King, General Zhivkovich and the military, or the Serbian parties? Everything points to the motive power having been given by the King himself. Last year by a curious coincidence half-a-dozen members of the present Cabinet, including General Zhivkovich, visited the King at his summer residence in Han-Piessak in Bosnia. Whether or not a coup d'etat and a regime of absolutism were then decided upon, there need be little doubt that the constitution of the present Cabinet was fairly definitely fixed. On Saturday night, January 5, within an hour of the coup, members of the Government were telegraphing to their friends: "Al went off according to plan."

It is not to be supposed that the King could ever hav set before himself as an aim of policy the securing of dic tatorial power. Unconstitutional government cost three o his predecessors their thrones, and one of them (the las Obrenovich) his life. The King is not likely to have for gotten it. The only line for legitimate criticism to take i to ask whether or not he was right in rejecting the solutior of free elections demanded by the Croats. The appointmen of General Zhivkovich to form a neutral "government of the high hand" to conduct honest elections was frequently recommended by the Croats—memorably by Stephen Radich himself. Despite his personal energy, ambition, and active military training, King Alexander has democratic blood in his veins. Not merely that of his peasant great-grandfather, the illiterate "Black George"—Kara Georg—who led the revolt against Turkish tyranny, but also that of his father, King Peter, who as a Socialist émigré in Switzerland wrote in his preface to his own Serbian translation of John Stuart Mill's "On Liberty": "The nation which is incapable of winning its parliamentary freedom is unworthy to exist." King Alexander's declaration in the first Proclamation that parliamentary government was always his own ideal rings as true as does his entirely accurate description of the misery into which the empty form of a non-existent democracy had plunged the country.

The Absolutist Cabinet guarantees that it will make way for a "truly democratic" regime "when the task is ended." The promise (which is unofficial but has been given repeatedly) may mean much or little. But if it is really to save the country, if it is not to sacrifice the dynasty and the triune kingdom itself, the new regime will be obliged on account of the Croats to carry out decentralization willy-nilly, and willy-nilly to give place to others before many years have expired, on account of the anti-autocratic character of the Serbs. For the realization of both these essentials, its composition and early proceedings are none too favorable.

Dr. Matchek and other Croats repeatedly drew my attention to the fact that no Croat political leaders have been invited to join the Cabinet, while five prominent politicians of the late Serb Coalition occupy leading posts. On the fateful Saturday the King sent for Dr. Matchek for a second time to obtain from him precise details of the Croat demands for constitutional change. Dr. Matchek demanded "Personal Union"—an independent, fully legislative Croat Parliament subject only to the authority of the Crown. Even to this, the most extreme form of the Croat autonomy demand, the King did not reply "impossible." The King then sent for Professor Jovanovich, the expert on constitutional law at Belgrade University, and afterward for the Serbian political leaders. It is clear that it was not on account of the personal feelings of King Alexander, but of the stubborn resistance of the Serbs that the decision was taken to put into execution the plans already prepared for the present dictatorial regime. Until all the world knew of its birth, the Croat national leaders had no intimation that the solution of a dictatorship for an unlimited period would be attempted.

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Many of those who were looked upon as enemies of Croatian autonomy are to be found in the new Cabinet. It is no wonder that the rashly expressed, momentary relief of the Croat leaders has given place to distrust, coupled with something approaching despair. The new regime professes to be above party politics, although actually it is only the Croat Ministers who are non-party men. The attempt to place the Serbian political leaders and Croat national leaders on all fours is very misleading. The Serbian Radicals had control of the government machinery for electoral corruption, and were themselves elected mainly in Macedonia—certainly not because of the love of the discontented Macedonians for the Radical Party, but because in this area the particular severity of the gendarmerie has made the election of government candidates automatic. The Croat national leaders, on the other hand, were elected despite the power of the Serbian Radicals to manipulate votes. It is suggested from Belgrade that they are merely self-seeking professional politicians who can be as advantageously and easily eliminated as the office-hunters of the Serbian Radical Party. It is, of course, impossible to solve definitely the question as to how far the Croat peasant has been "led by the nose" by his leaders, and how far his attitude is really the expression of an intense national will. But no one who saw the memorable funeral of Stephen Radich, to which the peasantry flocked from every corner of the new provinces, can doubt that the speeches of the Croat leaders express the deep feelings of the peasantry to a much greater extent than Belgrade has ever admitted. Why should we assume, as Belgrade would have us assume, that the abolition of corruption and unjust taxation, together with economic concessions affording the peasant a better market abroad for his produce, would mean the end of the demand for autonomy? Under Hungary the Croats had a clean-handed and efficient government, but were, nevertheless, jealous of such autonomy as they had preserved and readily suffered persecution in its defense.

General Zhivkovich expressly disclaimed in a conversation which I had with him any intention of introducing Fascism into the country. Yet the new penal code contains unusual provisions imposing penalties for lese-majeste and for "slandering the state." This is the counterpart of the latter provision in the reactionary codes of Italy and (more especially) Hungary. One of the strongest impulses to absolutism in Jugoslavia was its existence in one form or another in Italy, Albania, and Bulgaria—three out of the five neighbors regarded as "encircling" Jugoslavia. More than anything else must Jugoslav absolutism be regarded as a reply to Italian Fascism, a concentration of the forces of the country in one hand. Its reception in Italy has shown very clearly that Rome recognizes this, and Italy is believed to have made the change in the Jugoslav regime the main reason for refusing to renew the treaty of friendship between the two countries which expired on January 27. Having secured ratification of the Nettuno Conventions, her interest in the treaty has evaporated. Meantime she perfects her system of treaties with Jugoslavia's neighbors. When Greece and Bulgaria have been fully reconciled through Italian good offices, the moment will have come to tell Jugoslavia on what terms she may have the friendship of Italy. They will not be easy ones, and they will be displeasing to France. That is the opinion of Zagreb and

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of an important section of Belgrade. But under absolutism it cannot be voiced, except guardedly, and the new regime claims that all is right with the world.

Informed opinion as to the next line of development is (at the moment of writing) as follows. The King, who has already seen privately a number of prominent Croats, is likely to show particular interest in Croatian affairs in the near future. He is justly advised that whereas the only bond uniting the Croats to the Serbs is a grudging but compelling self-interest, the Croatian peasant is filled with sentimental loyalty to the royal house. To allow the Croat peasants to be persuaded that Alexander is, after all, a "Serbian King" would be the last disaster for the country. Croatia will therefore be encouraged to bask in the sunshine of the royal favor—King Alexander may even transfer his residence to Zagreb for a month or so. The Serbs, it is hoped at court, will appreciate that this will be done, not with any intent to slight them, but out of motives of high policy. The King, already rejoicing in the reputation of the "peasant King," will try to earn that of the "King of Croat peasantry" as well. It is expected that the Croat political leaders will fall into line with the royal plans and range themselves on the side of the monarchy, for fear of losing their adherents, if for no other reason. Again the entire responsibility is thrust upon King Alexander personally. According to this plan, the dictatorship should come to an end within some six months.

Permanent success will, of course, depend almost entirely upon the constitution which is granted. Is it to confer real autonomy—not, we may be sure, in the form of such an independent Parliament as Dr. Matchek has demanded, but at any rate an autonomous Diet coupled with representation in a federal Parliament, perhaps to sit alternately at Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubliana? Or will the hegemonists succeed in persuading the King that the Croats will be satisfied with the shadow while they retain the substance, thus sowing the seeds of eternal recrimination? The danger of the brief dictatorship—if it proves to be brief—is that its actions will be well-nigh irrevocable.

Contributors to This Issue

LAURENCE TODD is in charge of the Washington Bureau of the Federated Press.

ROBERT DELL is *The Nation's* correspondent in France.

HORACE M. BOND is a research assistant in the social science department of Fisk University.

BORGHILD LEE has contributed to *Poetry* and other poetry magazines.

WILLIAM SEAGLE is on the staff of the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences and is coauthor with Morris Ernst of "To the Pure . . ."

WILLIAM MACDONALD is a regular contributor of historical and political reviews to *The Nation.*

GRANVILLE HICKS, now at Harvard University, was formerly on the faculty at Smith College.

SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE, formerly on the editorial staffs of *The Nation* and the *Freeman,* is the author of "Concerning Women."

G. E. R. GEDYE contributes to *The Nation* frequently on Central-European topics.

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